

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/6/55

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-0)

SUBJECT: OZZIE GLOVER;
 WALDO D. GLOVER;
 GENE L. COON;
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-24-89 BY 279638
 279639

Remytel 6/3/55, captioned as above.

The letter from above captioned individuals was acknowledged on 6/6/55. This acknowledgement consisted only in stating that their letter had been received and that the information contained therein was made a matter of record.

For the information of the Bureau, the files of the Los Angeles Office contain the following information concerning the individuals mentioned in the letter received from the above captioned individuals.

Re: JUDGE MILO POPOVICH

The Bureau is requested to refer to the Los Angeles report of SA [] dated March 4, 1942, entitled "MILO POPOVICH - APPLICANT - SPECIAL AGENT", for background information concerning POPOVICH. The files reflect that POPOVICH was formerly a Police Court judge in Fresno, California, and has been contacted in the past by agent personnel. He has been cooperative and friendly with the agents, and has furnished information concerning SERBIAN matters in the Fresno area. The files further reflect that one HAROLD A. PERICHAN, Attorney at Law, Fresno, California, was contacted by Bureau agents in May, 1950 in connection with the investigation of ABRAHAM DAVIDIAN, OBSTRUCTION OF JUSTICE. PERICHAN advised that he had taken over the legal practice of MILO POPOVICH, who was then running for election as Police Judge of Fresno. PERICHAN stated that he was newly arrived in Fresno, and knew nothing of DAVIDIAN's background. PERICHAN accepted a Collection of Debt case from DAVIDIAN and successfully collected the debt. DAVIDIAN was grateful, and asked if he could do anything for PERICHAN. PERICHAN explained that he

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AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

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Fund for the Republic

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LA 100-0

was doing all he could to assist MILO POPOVICH in his campaign for Police Judge, and suggested that DAVIDIAN circulate petitions and collect money for POPOVICH's campaign. PERICHAN stated that DAVIDIAN did this, but when PERICHAN informed POPOVICH of DAVIDIAN's assistance, POPOVICH became very upset and refused to accept DAVIDIAN's support, petitions or money. The file does not reflect the date of this activity.

Re: ARTHUR JOST c 4 11

The Daily People's World edition of February 3, 1954, page 8, contained the following article entitled "Citizenship Ordered For Foe of War."

"Fresno, Feb. 2 - The Fresno County Superior Court was under U.S. Supreme Court instructions today to grant citizenship to ARTHUR JOST of Reedley, a Mennonite whose religion forbids the practice of war.

"The Superior Court had denied the application because the judge was not convinced JOST was a 'sincere' religious objector to war. The ruling was upheld by the district court of appeals.

"Denial of citizenship was urged by the American Legion. The Immigration Service recommended that JOST be made a citizen.

"In winning the Supreme Court reversal, JOST was represented by DEAN ACHESON, former U.S. Secretary of State, and A. L. WIRIN, Southern California American Civil Liberties Union attorney.

"'Friend of the Court' briefs in JOST's behalf were filed by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), the Brethern Service Commission, the Congregational Conference of Southern California, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation."

The Los Angeles files reflect that Colonel ALBERT McELHOE, U.S. Army, retired, a professor at Reedley Junior College, Reedley, California, advised SA [redacted] on October 22, 1954, that he was the head of the Civil Defense program in Reedley and had encountered resistance from the Mennonite group in Reedley who were attempting to replace him with one of their own group. The purpose of

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this, according to McELHOE, was so that the Mennonites could be in control of relief supplies which they could dispense to their own people in the event of war. McELHOE stated that ARTHUR JOST, head of the Mennonite Central Committee, was the leader of the group who were trying to oust him. Mrs. PAULINE ISAAC, Reedley, California, a nurse at the Reedley High School and Reedley Junior College, advised SA [REDACTED] on March 2, 1955, that she was the Treasurer of the Sequoia Mental Health Society, and that the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Society was ARTHUR JOST. She said that ALBERT McELHOE, a professor at Reedley Junior College, told her that ARTHUR JOST and the Mennonite group had caused him to resign as head of the Reedley Civil Defense program, and also that the Sequoia Mental Health Society was a Communist front group. Confidential informants familiar with Communist Party activities in the Reedley, California area could not substantiate this allegation that the Sequoia Mental Health Society was Communist controlled.

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b7C

Re: OZZIE GLOVER

The files of the Los Angeles office contain no information identifiable with OZZIE GLOVER.

Re: WALDO D. GLOVER

The files of the Los Angeles office contain no information identifiable with WALDO D. GLOVER. The files of the Registrar of Voters, Los Angeles County, reflect that WALDO D. GLOVER was born in Turkey, his occupation was cameraman, and he registered to affiliate with the Republican Party in 1945.

Re: GENE L. COON

The files of the Los Angeles office contain no record identifiable with GENE L. COON. The files of the Registrar of Voters, Los Angeles County, reflect that GENE L. COON registered to affiliate with the Democratic Party in 1954, and that his occupation was a public relations man.

To date no request has been received from Judge POPOVICH requesting that captioned individuals be investigated by the FBI.

The above is being submitted for your information, and no further action is contemplated by the Los Angeles office.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 20885 JLS

JUN 3 1955

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INDEXED-39

7-25 PM

FBI, LOS ANGELES

6-3-55

URGENT

DIRECTOR, FBI

OZZIE GLOVER, WALDO D. GLOVER, GENE L. COON, INFORMATION CONCERNING.

REBU PHONE CALL TO L.A. THIS DATE. NO REQUEST RECEIVED FROM JUDGE POPOVICH TO INVESTIGATE GLOVER-S OR COON. INDICES, L.A., CONTAIN NO RECORD RE CAPTIONED INDIVIDUALS. INDICES CONTAIN NO DEROGATORY INFORMATION RE JUDGE MILO POPOVICH WHO WAS BUAPP REFER L.A. REPORT SA [REDACTED] DATED MARCH THREE, FORTY TWO, CAPTIONED QUOTE MILO POPOVICH - APPLICANT - SPECIAL AGENT UNQUOTE. INDICES CONTAIN DAILY PEOPLES WORLD ARTICLE FEB. THREE, FIFTY FOUR, PAGE EIGHT, CAPTIONED QUOTE CITIZENSHIP ORDERED FOR Foe OF WAR UNQUOTE, WHICH GIVES ACCOUNT OF U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISION TO GRANT CITIZENSHIP TO JOST. INDICES ALSO CONTAIN ALLEGATION FROM COL. ALBERT MC ELHOE, U.S.A., RET., PROFESSOR REEDLEY JUNIOR COLLEGE, REEDLEY, CALIF., WHO STATED OCT. TWENTY TWO, LAST, HE WAS HEAD OF REEDLEY-S CIVIL DEFENSE, AND THE MENNONITE GROUP, HEADED BY JOST, WAS TRYING TO OUST HIM FROM CIVIL DEFENSE TO GAIN CONTROL OF RELIEF SUPPLIES IN EVENT OF WAR. PAULINE ISAAC, TREASURER, SEQUOIA MENTAL HEALTH SOCIETY, STATED MARCH TWO, LAST, JOST WAS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SECRETARY OF THIS SOCIETY, AND THAT MC ELHOE ADVISED HER THIS SOCIETY COMMUNIST DOMINATED. CONFIDENTIAL INFORMANTS FAMILIAR WITH CP ACTIVITY IN REEDLEY UNABLE TO SUBSTANTIATE ALLEGATION. LETTER TO BUREAU WILL FOLLOW. LETTER WILL BE SENT CAPTIONED INDIVIDUALS JUNE SIX, NEXT, ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT OF THEIR LETTER, AND STATING CONTENTS HAVE BEEN MADE PERMANENT RECORD UACB.

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JUN 10 1955

MALONE

END AND ACK PLS

Mr. Belmont

6-3-55, Eft (pen)

© Fund for the Republic

file 100-391697

JUN 15 1955

- Orig & dupli
 - Yellow
 - Mr. Nichols
 - 1 - Mr. Boardman
 - 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Section Tickler
- June 9, 1955

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

100-391697-107

DIRECTOR, FBI

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1-24-89 BY 208 BTJ

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40262

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By letter dated May 27, 1955, Ozzie Glover and Gene L. Coon advised that they were newsmen employed by Ozzie Glover Productions, 1161 North Highland Avenue, Los Angeles 38, California, a commercial newsmagazine organization. They stated that their organization produced mainly short newsmagazine films paid for by a third party for distribution without cost to television news programs, and that one of their most important clients is "Telefeatures," which organization frequently subcontracts assignments to Ozzie Glover Productions which are paid for by the Fund for the Republic. The correspondents stated that the Fund for the Republic pays for the production and distribution of film clips of news stories which it considers to fall within the scope of its announced objectives, which are to promote constitutional civil liberties and combat racial and religious discrimination.

The above-mentioned letter reported an incident concerning the attempted coverage by the correspondents for the Fund for the Republic of the swearing in of Arthur Jost as an American citizen by Superior Court Judge Milo Popovich on April 28, 1955, at Fresno, California. Jost had been repeatedly denied citizenship by the lower courts in Fresno County and took his case to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court ruled that the lower courts must grant Jost full citizenship without delay. The correspondents reported that Jost is a Mennonite and a conscientious objector. When Judge Popovich was asked by Coon to congratulate Jost at the conclusion of the ceremony so it could be filmed, the Judge became angered and suspicious and asked if the correspondents represented Communist newspapers or organizations. Judge Popovich stated that only Communists would come from Los Angeles to Fresno to cover a story which was not being covered by the local papers and that if anything appeared in any publication which was opposed to the

- Tolson _____
- Boardman _____
- Nichols _____
- Belmont _____
- Harbo _____
- Mohr _____
- Parsons _____
- Rosen _____
- Tamm _____
- Sizoo _____
- Winterrowd _____
- Tele. Room _____
- Holloman _____
- Gandy _____

(100-391697)
EFT-lm
R(10)

NOTE: Inasmuch as pertinent information concerning the activities of the Fund for the Republic has been furnished to the AG and Deputy AG, the above information is also being forwarded as of possible interest to them. Concerning the above incident no information has been received to date from Judge Popovich.

(YELLOW continued Page 2)

66 JUN 10 1955

Memorandum to the Attorney General

40263

Government that he would initiate steps to withdraw Jost's citizenship. The request to cover the event was withdrawn by the correspondents but they stated that the Judge took their names and addresses and advised them that he was going to have the FBI investigate them.

The correspondents also listed some of the stories which they have covered for the Fund for the Republic. These stories include a film shot on Armed Forces Day in Long Beach, California, when a pacifist group staged an antiwar demonstration as the Armed Forces Day parade was in progress; a story on a Long Beach traffic judge who announced that accused traffic violators were not getting fair treatment in most traffic courts; a story on two employees of the Costa Mesa school system who were released because of membership in the American Civil Liberties Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation; a story on alleged segregation of colored and Mexican children in the El Centro school system; and a story of a Superior Court ruling in Los Angeles that churches do not have to sign a loyalty oath to obtain tax exemptions.

Concerning the above incident, no information has been received to date by this Bureau from Judge Popovich. You will be immediately apprised of any pertinent developments in this matter.

1 - Mr. William F. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

NOTE ON YELLOW: (continued)

ASAC Gearty, Los Angeles Office, was telephonically contacted 6-3-55 re this matter and advised that Judge Popovich has not requested any investigation of Glover and Coon nor did he furnish Los Angeles Office any information this matter. Gearty stated Los Angeles would write Glover and Coon a letter, acknowledging their letter of May 27, 1955, and thanking them for their interest in this matter. Los Angeles will make no other comments to them. Gearty stated Los Angeles would immediately send a letter to Bureau furnishing details in this matter. Bureau files are negative re Ozzie Glover Productions; "Telefeatures," Ozzie Glover, Gene L. Coon, or Arthur Jost.

PCY

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ezzie Glover Productions

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date 6/2 Searcher Initial _____

FILE NUMBER NR 40264 SERIAL

Ezzie Glover
E. Glover NR

Telefeatures NR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-24-89 BY 881573/af

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Popovich, Zila

Room 7633

Searcher

R#

Date _____

Initial

SERIAL



67-225461

SERIAL
(applicant
1942)

NR

25-151396

NI

65-58453-19

NR

46-22097-1

Milo V.

NR

120-3789

Green Corn

NR

Gene Coon

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Subj:

Arthur West

Supervisor

Room 7633

Searcher

R#

Date 6/2-

Initia

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

art

26-45027-5

Arthur

NI 97-114-243

NY 64-2704-A-23,607

N/ 755, 694

M/ 64-968-471

N/ 100-769 - 4 892X

✓ 62-62736-1127 p376

64-5003-609. 629

N/ 64-2706-A -192

Arthur P.

Chadwick

N/ 100-29097-24

5-88

BOZZIE GLOVER PRODUCTIONS
1161 NORTH HIGHLAND AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 38, CALIFORNIA

40265

INDEXED-39

Telephone: Hollywood 2-6061

May 27, 1955

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
510 South Spring Street
Los Angeles, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-88 BY 2053051

Gentlemen:

We would like to file an account of an incident in which we were involved in Fresno, California, on April 22, 1955.

We are a commercial newsreel organization, producing mainly what is known in the television news trade as "handouts"...short newsreel films paid for by a third party for distribution without cost to television news programs. One of our most important clients is an organization known as "Telefeatures", which is also in the handout business. Because of the press of other activities, Telefeatures frequently subcontracts assignments to us. The assignments most frequently given by Telefeatures are paid for by the Fund for the Republic, an independent corporation set up by the Ford Foundation to promote constitutional civil liberties and combat racial and religious discrimination. The Fund for the Republic pays for the production and distribution of film clips of news stories which it considers falling within the scope of its announced objectives.

On Thursday, April 21, we went to Fresno, California, to cover a story for Telefeatures and the Fund for the Republic. The story had to do with a man named Arthur Jost, director of a mental hospital near Reedley. Jost is a Mennonite and, like many Mennonites, a conscientious objector. Born in Canada, he had for several years been seeking United States citizenship. He was repeatedly denied citizenship by lower courts in Fresno County. Aided by the American Civil Liberties Union, Jost took his case to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that the lower courts must grant Jost full citizenship without delay.

RECORDED - 39
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Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

Let to AG
cc: Ryan
6-13-55
JST

40266

The Fund for the Republic felt that this story merited full coverage for television. We were hired to do the job.

In Fresno, we met with Arthur Jost and arranged to be at the County Court House at the time of the ceremony. Jost was to be sworn in by Superior Court Judge Mild Popovich. We introduced ourselves to Popovich, and told him we wished to cover the story. He told us prior to the ceremony that he was not in favor of granting citizenship to Jost, but would do so on the order of the Supreme Court. Gene Coon then asked, in the interest of photographic content, if the judge would congratulate Jost at the conclusion of the ceremony, so we could film it. At this, Popovich became angered and suspicious, and asked us if we represented communist newspapers or organization. We assured him we did not, but his anger mounted. He ordered us into his chambers and repeatedly stated that only communists would come from Los Angeles to Fresno to cover a story which was not being covered by even the local papers. Repeatedly, we assured him that we had no red connections or sympathies or interests. The Court Clerk suggested to the judge that they delay the ceremony pending further investigation. Popovich was loath to do this; however, the clerk said, "Well, I'd hate to have my picture appear in the Daily Worker".

Mr. Jost was waiting in the courtroom for the ceremony to begin. Judge Popovich called him into his chambers, and told him that left wing elements were trying to exploit his case. He told Jost that he would not interfere with the press covering the ceremony, but if so much as a single word or picture of the story ever appeared in any publication opposed to the government, he would initiate steps to withdraw Jost's citizenship. He indicated strongly several times that we, the news crew, were communists, or at least working for communists. He warned Jost that if he tries to become a martyr, investigation of his case will continue with an eye to revocation of citizenship.

As soon as we saw that the judge, in his anger, might move to delay Jost's oath-taking, we withdrew our request to cover the event.

However, the judge took our names and addresses, and informed us that he was going to have us investigated by the F. B. I. This is perfectly all right with us, since we are working newsmen with nothing to hide. But, we feel that since the judge was extremely angry at the time he might not relay the facts as we gave them to him. As a side issue, we also feel that, indirectly at least, Judge Popovich infringed upon the rights of legitimate news gathering organizations to cover a story.

In the event Judge Popovich did report the incident to you, or your Fresno office, and requested that we be investigated, we hope this letter might set forth our side of the story. Frankly, we were angered with what appeared to us to be a high-handed disposition on the part of the Judge to ignore our explanations, to indicate repeatedly that we were communists or tools of the communists, and to threaten Jost with revocation of his citizenship should we go ahead and cover the story, a story of legitimate news value, inasmuch as it dealt with a decision of the United States Supreme Court.

For your own information, I would like to list some of the stories which we have covered for the Fund for the Republic. They include a story shot on Armed Forces Day in Long Beach, when a pacifist group staged an anti-war demonstration as the Armed Forces Day parade was in progress; a story on a Long Beach traffic judge who announced that accused traffic violators were not getting fair treatment in most traffic courts; a story on two employees of the Costa Mesa school systems who were released because of membership in the American Civil Liberties Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation; a story on alleged segregation of colored and Mexican children in the El Centro school system; a story of a Superior Court ruling in Los Angeles that churches do not have to sign a loyalty oath to obtain tax exemptions; and several others.

We will be happy to furnish you with any additional information if you so desire.

Sincerely,

Ozzie Glover

Gene L. Coon

cc: J. Edgar Hoover ✓
Chief Justice Earl Warren
Senator Thomas Kuchel

OG, GLO/wc

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: May 31,
1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: RUSSELL E. WHITE
SECURITY COORDINATOR
GENERAL ELECTRIC CORPORATION
SCHENECTADY, NEW YORK

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Mr. White, on the afternoon of May 27, 1955, called from Schenectady, New York, to advise that he was coming to Washington, D. C., on Thursday afternoon, June 2, 1955, for the purpose of attending a "conference on personnel security programs in United States industry" at the Willard Hotel on June 3, 1955.

Mr. White said he would very much like to come a day early--that is, on Wednesday, June 1--to pay a courtesy call on the Director. He said he had no problems to propose to the Director and merely desired to pay a courtesy call.

On the afternoon of May 31, I advised Mr. White that the Director was out of town. Mr. White said he would like to renew his request at some future date.

You will recall that Mr. White is a former Bureau Agent who has been very Bureau-minded and consistently has sought to assist the Bureau whenever possible.

On May 31, I received the attached program relative to the conference of June 3. It is sponsored by the Industrial Relations Research Association and the American Political Science Association. It is noted that William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General, will speak on "Freedom and Security."

Mr. White noted that this conference is apparently fostered by the Fund for the Republic and in his opinion it will be a "loaded" meeting as there are a number of antisecurity people who will participate.

For your information.

100-391697-108

11 JUN 9 1955

ENCL.

AHB:LL
(5)cc--Mr. Boardman
cc--Mr. Nichols
cc--Mr. Holloman
cc--Mr. Belmont

Enclosure

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-10-85 BY 246.813

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-10-85 BY 866 B. J. G. A.
The Washington Chapters of the
**INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH
ASSOCIATION** 246.813

and the
**AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE
ASSOCIATION**

Invite You to Participate in a
**CONFERENCE ON PERSONNEL SECURITY
PROGRAMS IN U. S. INDUSTRY**

To explore the impact and the meaning of the loyalty
and security programs which cover civilian workers.

FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1955

* * * *

Willard Hotel

Washington, D. C.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

Friday, June 3, 1955

9:00 to 9:40 a.m.—Registration in Grand Ball Room, 10th Floor of the Willard

(Note: We plan to start promptly at 9:45 a.m. so that we can take our coffee break.)

9:45 a.m.—Chairman: JOHN HERLING, President, D. C. Chapter, Industrial Relations Research Association; Washington Writer on Labor Affairs

"THE QUESTIONS WE HAVE TO ANSWER" — C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS, Corporation Attorney; Former General Counsel in Department of Commerce

"THE INDUSTRIAL SECURITY PROGRAM" —HONORABLE WILBER M. BRUCKER, General Counsel, Department of Defense; Former Governor of the State of Michigan

COFFEE BREAK.

PANEL: G. ARTHUR ROLANDER, Deputy Director, Division of Security, Atomic Energy Commission on "The Operations of the AEC Security Program"

JOSEPH AMANN, President, Engineers and Scientists of America

ADRIAN FISHER, Counsel, Washington Post-Times Herald Company

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Washington Counsel, United Automobile Workers, CIO

ADAM YARMOLINSKY, Attorney on "A Survey of Some Industrial Security Cases"

DISCUSSION:

12:30 p.m.—Luncheon Session — Congressional Room
(Lobby Floor)

Chairman: WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor

AS A WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT SEES IT — ANTHONY LEWIS, Pulitzer Prize Winner for Journalism in 1955, Washington Daily News

A TEST OF FREEDOM — NORMAN THOMAS, Member, Board of Directors, American Civil Liberties Union; Socialist Leader; Author and Columnist

SECURITY AND FREEDOM — HONORABLE WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS, Assistant Attorney General of the United States in charge of Internal Security Division

2:45 p.m.—In Congressional Room

VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES OF MANAGEMENT AND LABOR WITH INDUSTRIAL SECURITY

Chairman: PROFESSOR RICHARD A. LESTER, Chairman, Department of Economics and Sociology, Princeton University

Participants: GEORGE CHRISTENSEN, Grand Lodge Attorney, International Association of Machinists, AFL

WILSON McMAKIN, Vice President, American Cable and Radio Corporation

THERON J. RICE, Secretary, Committee on National Defense, Chamber of Commerce of the United States

BENJAMIN C. SIGAL, General Counsel, International Union of Electrical Workers, CIO

4:30 p.m.—Summation of Conference:

Daniel Bell, Associate Editor of Fortune Magazine

5:00 p.m.—Adjournment

(over)

CONFERENCE PLANNING COMMITTEE

Joseph Amann, President, Engineers and Scientists
Nelson Bortz, Industrial Relations Research Association
John Fanning, Director of Industrial Relations, Department
of Defense
Irving Ferman, Washington Office Director, American Civil
Liberties Union
Harry Fleischman, Director, National Labor Service
Ralph Goldman, D. C. Political Science Association
Thomas Harris, Associate General Counsel, CIO
Peter Henle, Assistant Research Director, AFL
Max Kampelman, Chairman, D. C. Political Science Asso-
ciation
Louis G. Silverberg, Industrial Relations Research Association

CONFERENCE SECRETARY

Benjamin D. Segal, Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1631 K Street, N. W. Phone: STerling 3-2194
Washington 6, D. C.

* * * *

REMINDER: Mail in your reservation with \$3.50 for your
registration and luncheon fee. Make checks payable
to Benjamin D. Segal.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

June 6, 1955

A. H. BELMONT

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

ADAM YARMOLINSKY

On a Washington City News Service release dated 6/3/55 the Director noted "Let me have summary on Yarmolinsky. H." This release reported that Yarmolinsky, Attorney for the Fund for the Republic, was critical of the Administration's Security Program in defense plants, stating that it has "serious defects" and lacks "common sense standards." Yarmolinsky spoke at a Conference on Personnel Security Programs in United States Industry held on 6/3/55 in Washington, D. C., and sponsored by the Washington chapters of the Industrial Relations Research Association and the American Political Science Association. He stated his assertion was based on a survey of Federal security methods which his organization had been making and that his studies showed a lack of "effective system to weed out gossip, slander and arrant nonsense" from charges brought against individual employees.

By my memorandum of 5/31/55 I advised you that Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins was to speak at this Conference and that Russell E. White, Security Coordinator, General Electric Corporation, had advised that this Conference was apparently fostered by the Fund for the Republic and that in his opinion it would be a "loaded" meeting as there would be a number of antisecurity people participating.

You will recall that the announcement on 12/22/54 of a \$100,000 grant by the Fund for the Republic for a survey of Federal loyalty-security programs also stated that a group under the direction of Adam Yarmolinsky had already initiated on 12/6/54 a study of available case material for eventual review by the committee which was recently appointed by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York to make this survey. On 12/21/54 Yarmolinsky stated that the study would attempt to collect a substantial number of cases covering not only the Federal Employees Security Program but the industrial security program, port security, and other phases of security. He said this study would be nationwide in scope; would be aided by lawyer-interviewers in key cities; would take about six months and cover over several hundred cases; and also expected to provide

would be

EFT:dje
(8)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Investigative Division
- 1 - Section tickler
- 1 - yellow 62-101860
- 1 - yellow 100-391697

Classified by *Matthew Jones*
Declassify on: OADR 1-24-89

NOT RECORDED
141 JUN 14 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure 6 JUN 15 1955

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memo Belmont to Boardman

"essential fact-finding material which any commission is going to need as part of the basis for its recommendations." According to Yarmolinsky, the data collected was expected to show what actually transpired in each case, what procedural difficulties were encountered and other facts needed to help evaluate the security program's effectiveness. ("The New York Times" and "Washington Post and Times Herald" 12/22/54)

(C) By memorandum dated 12/30/54 (attached on pages 10 through 13) you were furnished a summary of the information in Bureau files concerning Yarmolinsky and his parents. Yarmolinsky has not been investigated. Discreet inquiry by the Washington Field Office subsequent to the above announcement revealed no information concerning the study being made by Yarmolinsky or his source of case histories. Briefly, that memorandum reflects: Adam Yarmolinsky was former law clerk of Supreme Court Justice Stanley F. Reed. Yarmolinsky reported [redacted] to have been active in campus chapter of American Youth for Democracy (AYD) while at Harvard University, 1940-42. (AYD not formed until 1943) Yarmolinsky's name appeared on several lists of youth and college groups secured in 1941 and 1942 from trash covers on Communists and Communist front organizations. In August, 1942, Yarmolinsky spoke at a youth rally attended by over 90 per cent Young Communist Leaguers but was greeted with icy silence. In December, 1944, Yarmolinsky applying for position with Office of Strategic Services made statement that he resigned from Harvard Student Union in 1940 when he discovered it was Communist dominated and that he attended American Youth Congress in June or July, 1941, as hostile observer. March 13, 1946, "Daily Worker," classified Yarmolinsky as Red baiter on National Planning Committee of American Veterans Committee. Yarmolinsky's parents, Avrahm and Habette (Deutsch) have not been investigated by Bureau but have been active in some Communist fronts. Sometime between 1930 and 1936, Avrahm Yarmolinsky, born in Russia and Chief of Slavonic Division, New York City Public Library, reportedly called "Comrade" by Soviet lawyer. Lawyer reported Yarmolinsky was Chief Liaison between Soviet representatives and emissaries in this country. In 1948 one informant (not identified) alleged Avrahm Yarmolinsky was Communist fellow traveler but it was better for him not to be Communist Party member since he would be more valuable in his position. (C)

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

May 17, 1955

Two books entitled "Digest of the
Public Record of Communism in
the United States" and "Bibliography
on the Communist Problem in
the United States" published by
the Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
have been received from the
Fund for the Republic, Inc.,
1 East 54th Street, New York, New York

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Harbo ☐
Mr. Mohr ☐
Mr. Parsons ☐
Mr. Rosen ☐
Mr. Tamm ☐
Mr. Jones ☐
Mr. Sizoo ☐
Mr. Winterrowd ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Mr. Holloman ☐
Miss Holmes ☐
Miss Gandy ☐

No correspondence located from the Fund for the
Republic, Inc., indicating these books were being
sent.

In view of the bulkiness of these books, they have
been detached and are in my office and I wondered
if you wish that they be sent to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
for review.

FCH:hmb (2)
1--FCH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 8888 SJJ/08

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

64 JUN 15 1955

RECORDED-74

100-371697-

12 JUN 14 1955

6/9/55
Memo. to
Branch memo
to
Adm. Serv.

RSG

109

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: May 24, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

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^{for} ~~Fulton Lewis~~ levelled a devastating attack on the ~~Fund of the Republic~~ on Monday night, May 23rd. He started out by giving a brief background of the history of the Fund of the Republic; the fact that a grant was given it by the ~~Ford Foundation~~ which gets the profits from the Ford Motor Company, which profits are tax free and in which the people of the United States have an interest.

He then pointed out that the Fund ^{for} of the Republic is now engaged in a very dubious practice of attempting to influence the Judiciary; that while Lewis is not concerned with what Judges read, he is concerned with the tactics involved and pointed out that the Fund of the Republic has been sending three books to Judges. The first is "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties" by Samuel A. Stuffer, which is an attack upon the security program and was designed to show public opinion was against the security program and did not fear the menace of Communism. The second book is "Government by Investigation" by Alan ~~Barth~~, the chief editorial writer of the left-wing Washington Post; that Barth was a defender of Hiss, Remington and Oppenheimer; that the Washington Post has been called the Washington edition of the Daily Worker, largely as a result of editorials written by Barth. He then pointed out that the third book is "Grand Inquest" by Teleford Taylor.

Lewis then pointed out that Taylor was active in the Committee for an Effective Congress; that it has become more or less inactive of late but this was a committee that provided for the aid and assistance for Senator Flanders of Vermont. He then pointed out that Taylor is a graduate of Harvard Law School, graduating during the golden era of the reign of Felix Frankfurter; that he wgot a job in Interior and then went to the Agricultural Adjustment Association during the days when Harold Ware's Communist cell was thriving; that in 1941 he became General Counsel

cc: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. M. A. Jones

LBN:MM (5)

EX-104 RECORDED-52
 INDEXED-52

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30 JUN 2 1955

1-435

of the Federal Communications Commission; that on one occasion when J. Edgar Hoover requested that fingerprints of radio operators be forwarded to the FBI, Teleford Taylor recommended against this on the ground it would upset morale and James Lawrence Fly upheld this decision. *NS 12-4*

He further pointed out that Taylor at the age of 42 was a Major in the Army; in five months he was made a Lieutenant Colonel and in six months he became a full Colonel. In 1946 he was designated Chief Counsel for the War Crimes Commission at Nurnberg; that at the Nurnberg war trials he was criticized by an Iowa judge for his ruthlessness. He pointed out Taylor has also been a member of the National Lawyers Guild, the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party; that in 1940 the good Americans got out of the National Lawyers Guild but Taylor stayed in and so far as Lewis knows, he is still a member. He further pointed out Taylor was on the Board of Directors of the Americans for Democratic Action; was the defense counsel for Harry Bridges and last August his file at the Civil Service Commission was flagged with a code which meant "Unresolved Act on Loyalty."

Lewis then went on to raise questions as to how the Fund of the Republic can get by with what it is doing; that the money dedicated to the Ford Foundation and to the Fund of the Republic is money dedicated for the entire public good; that the income from the Ford Motor Company is free from normal tax and if this is so, the 15 million dollars granted the Fund of the Republic belongs to the entire United States; that if this is true, why does the Fund of the Republic use its money to espouse leftwing causes. *NS 12-4* He then pointed out the Fund of the Republic financed the Ed Murrow one-hour interview of Professor Robert Oppenheimer; that the Fund of the Republic is headed by Paul Hoffman, Clifford Case and now Robert M. Hutchins; that it is financed by money which belongs to "you and me."

Lewis pointed out that he had talked to one Judge who had received these books and could not understand why he had received them. He also stated he had tips from other widely separated sections of the country from other Judges and thus he must assume the Fund of the Republic is sending these books to all Judges.

I thought it was one of the most effective denunciations of the Fund of the Republic I have ever yet heard.

✓

ms

Excellent.

d

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson

DATE: 6/8/55

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

MARSHALL MacDUFFIE
Senate Committee on Constitutional Rights

Tolson
Boardman
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

Ben Mandel called to advise me that someone has talked to Marshall MacDuffie on whether he was going to call Elizabeth Bentley and William Henry Taylor. MacDuffie indicated that they would probably not do this as there would be a personality clash between Taylor and Bentley, the matter would be risky, and that he can not do anything which would ruin Senator Hennings' position since Hennings is coming up for re-election next year; that if they went into the Taylor-Bentley matter this would then involve confidential informants and they could not get involved in this.

According to Mandel, there is a close relationship between the Fund for the Republic and MacDuffie and MacDuffie is reported to have said that the Fund for the Republic was specializing in the security program. Mandel further stated that the more he digs into the Fund for the Republic the more he is convinced that it is essentially a propaganda outfit, it is now propagandizing the American Library Association and it sends out reprints of the Richard Rovere article on paid informants in Harper's Magazine and the Denver Post reprints of the "Faceless Informer" series.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc
(4)

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DATE 7-24-83 BY 2052 JH

13 JUN 16 1955

INT SEC

ADDENDUM

LBN:MM 6/10/55

This has been the subject of previous memoranda and they are trying to work out a way whereby they can get into this.

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199 JUN 16 1955

60 JUN 17 1955

If they wait much longer, Hennings may surprise them.

ORIGINAL COPIES FILED IN 62-107741-4

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: June 9, 1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

279,630
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
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Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
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Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

SUBJECT: "BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM
IN THE UNITED STATES" AND "DIGEST OF THE
PUBLIC RECORD OF COMMUNISM IN THE
UNITED STATES"
PUBLISHED BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

Pursuant to the Director's request, the captioned two books were reviewed by the Central Research Section.

According to the foreword of the bibliography, a survey of public records concerning Communism was undertaken in the Summer of 1953 with the support of the Fund for the Republic, Inc. (which organization was established by a grant from the Ford Foundation). This bibliography was the result. It is 474 pages in length and is devoted primarily to literature relating to Communism in the United States since the founding of the American Communist Party in 1919. The book consists of an author index, a subject index, and appendices.

Three magazine articles written by the Director during the period 1948-1951 are listed in the author index (page 126) of the bibliography.

The digest is a companion volume to the bibliography. The digest, consisting of 753 pages, is a collection of abstracts of Federal, state and municipal decisions, laws, ordinances, hearings, reports, and other public documents pertaining to Communism in the United States since 1919.

Most of the references to the Director and the Bureau in this digest are extracted from the Director's annual reports and his testimony before the Committee on Appropriations of both the Senate and the House (pp. 66-67, 497-498, 505, 517, 544-545, 549-550, 567, 571, 616, 655-658, 687).

Neither book contains any derogatory reference to the Director or to the Bureau.

These two volumes will be useful to the Central Research Section and are therefore being retained in this Section.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information JUN 14 1955

RSG:mjh
(5)

- 1 - Mr. Boardman
1 - Mr. Nichols
1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section tickler

RECORDED-74
INDEXED-74

100-31-67-110

Books no longer necessary

CENTRAL RESEARCH SECTION

WCS
PDI

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (Encl. 2) (REGISTERED) DATE: June 9, 1955

FROM : SAC, OKLAHOMA CITY (100-0)

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC,
PAUL F. LAZARSELD, DIRECTOR.
SECURITY MATTER - C

4-1

G.I.R.

On May 3, 1955 Dr. HOWARD TAYLOR, Dean, Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha, Oklahoma, furnished this office a copy of a letter directed to Dr. CHARLES DAN PROCTOR, President, Oklahoma State College for Women, Chickasha, Oklahoma, wherein the above captioned individual requested Oklahoma College for Women to participate in a study of academic freedom in American colleges and universities. This study is to be sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, of which PAUL F. LAZARSELD is listed as Director.

Since information of this type will likely be brought to the attention of other Field Offices in the future, photostatic copies of this letter are enclosed for the Bureau and New York, for whatever action is deemed appropriate.

The indices of the Oklahoma City Office are negative concerning PAUL F. LAZARSELD and the Fund for the Republic.

No further action is contemplated in this matter by this office, UACB.

Encl. 2 ENCL.

AGW:TK
(5)

CC: New York (Encl. 1) REGISTERED

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EX-100

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OFFICE OF PRESIDENT
RECEIVED

MAR 17 1955

O.C.W.

ROOM 4601
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

March 14, 1955

Dr. Charles Dan Procter, President
Oklahoma State College for Women
Chickasha, Oklahoma

Dear President Procter:

I am writing you about a study we are conducting among a cross-section of American colleges and universities. Over the past months and years, many claims and counter-claims have been made on the concern about academic freedom that exists among teachers in our colleges and universities. Ours is an effort to make an assessment of the situation on a nation-wide basis.

The study itself will cover a cross-section of presidents, social science teachers, deans and trustees at a cross-section of accredited academic institutions, and will deal with the presence or absence and the degree of apprehension that exists on the American campus today.

As a result of a random draw from accredited institutions, your college has been selected as one of the 110 colleges and universities to participate in this study. I trust we can count on your support and cooperation.

As an educator, you will understand, I feel sure, why we want information in this significant area. In a way, a study like this is a form of "social book-keeping". It is one effort - by no means the only approach - to find out at this recorded point of time the climate of opinion among social science faculty members and those entrusted with the responsibility of running our colleges and universities. In this sense, we can see some usefulness to historians looking for recorded evidence of this period, as well as for people concerned with assessing the facts in the current situation today. The study is being sponsored by the Fund for the Republic.

We hope to be able to begin interviewing members of your faculty and of your administration within the next few weeks and we would like to work in close contact with you. We are aware, however, of the heavy load you are undoubtedly already carrying and we would be delighted to work with anyone in your administration whom you should want to designate to act for you. On hearing from you, we shall want to get in touch with that person, or with you, regarding the specific details and arrangements for the study.

We shall be deeply grateful for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Paul F. Lazarsfeld

Paul F. Lazarsfeld
Director

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100-418797-36, ✓

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✓

Mr. Nichols
Mr. Boardman

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Section Tickler

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

June 16, 1955

DIRECTOR, FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8(DTJ)af

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

On June 8, 1955, a representative of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) furnished this Bureau with a copy of a memorandum signed by V. E. Perry, Vice President of the captioned organization, and entitled "The Fund for the Republic, Inc., Loyalty-Security Case Study." This memorandum, a copy of which is enclosed, reflects that the captioned organization had undertaken, as part of a study of the operation of the Government loyalty and security programs, to collect case histories of several hundred cases arising from the various Federal personnel security programs. The memorandum sets forth the manner in which these case histories are to be collected, the type of information to be included in the Fund's reports, and the use and distribution to be made of the case histories.

According to the memorandum, the case histories are for the "confidential use" of the Fund for the Republic and the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, and with the exception of a limited number of cases specifically prepared for outside distribution, they will not be circulated beyond that point.

By memoranda dated January 19, March 7, and April 4, 1955, you were furnished the results of FBI file checks concerning those named in the enclosed memorandum as being members of the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and as officers and members of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic.

The representative from the Office of Naval Intelligence also furnished this Bureau a copy of a "General Outline for Case Histories." This is apparently being used by Fund employees as a guide in the collection of these case histories. Transmitted herewith is one copy of this outline.

Enclosures (2)

EX-125

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Interrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

1 - Mr. William F. Rogers (with enclosures 2)
Deputy Attorney General1 - Assistant Attorney General (with enclosures 2)
William F. Tompkins

EFT:lmn:mer

(11)

cover memo Belmont to Boardman, 6/14/55
same caption, EFT:lmn

59 JUN 24 1955

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JUN 17 1955

COMM-FBI

40256

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(CAUTION: ADVANCE LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE TUESDAY, JUNE 14,

A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

(Copyright, 1955, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

WASHINGTON, June 13 -- The wolf-in-sheep's-clothing simile

has a new application: Americans for Democratic Action promenading in Fund For The Republic clothing -- and, incidentally, with Fund For The Republic money in its pocket.

The Fund was established a little over two years ago with a no-strings-attached \$15 million grant from the Ford Foundation. Its announced purpose was to seek elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States. History has shown its real purpose to be stopping anti-Communism.

The grant was announced on Feb. 25, 1953, one day after the House of Representatives had appropriated \$300,000 to its Un-American Activities Investigating Committee. The sequence prompted one House member to remark, "we appropriate \$300,000 to investigate Communism, the lefties appropriate \$15 million to stop any investigation."

Two years' experience has proved him to have been eminently correct. Every act of the Fund For The Republic has been aimed directly at stopping all investigations of Communism and its agents, at undermining the government's personnel security program and generally at discrediting any effective anti-Communist activities.

Its 1955 program, for example, has been centered primarily on propagandizing influential groups on two points -- in support of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, and in opposition to the personnel security program.

On the first count, the Fund For The Republic has footed the bill to distribute to thousands of schools, colleges and civic groups, an hour-long version of Edward R. Murrow's television interview with Oppenheimer.

In typical Murrow fashion, that film was a propaganda snow-job designed to present the discredited physicist as a benign, kindly soul who suffers in silence the hurt inflicted on him when the

Energy Commission decided to refuse him security clearance at seven of the nine men who sat in judgment on

Case ruled against him, and their wholly justified doing, are ignored. (more)

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For Release - Tuesday, June 14, 1955

Page 2

40257

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

xx ignored.

Next, the Fund financed wide-scale mail distribution of a special issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, which is published by an outfit having as the Chairman of its Board of Sponsors none other than J. Robert Oppenheimer. By coincidence, of course, this was a special issue devoted entirely to the twin objectives of defending Oppenheimer and attacking the security program.

I have been unable to ascertain exactly how extensive this special distribution was, but members of several different professions tell me of having received it. Also, it apparently was mailed to all members of Congress; several called it to my attention and offered to let me have their copies, the alternative destination being the nearest wastebasket.

The next Fund For The Republic effort was to send gratis to all Federal judges copies of three left-wing books, all embodying varying facets of the overall "liberal" attack on the security program, on the confidential informant system and on anti-Communism generally. The books were followed up by a reprint of a Harper's Magazine article entitled "The Kept Witnesses," written by one Richard H. Rovere.

One judge sent me his copy of the Harper's reprint with a penciled note: "How about 'Kept Professors'? We J's are really being bombarded." Another jurist sent me his with a cover note describing it as "the most obnoxious of the lot" he had received from the Fund.

I happened upon a clue to Mr. Rovere's character the next day when I discovered in the new issue of the ADA World an item about the ADA's forthcoming "Annual Summer Workshop in Practical Politics." One of the "liberal speakers" (ADA World's phrase) to address the workshop, it said, would be "Richard Rovere, New Yorker political correspondent."

The "Kept Witnesses" article is exactly what one would expect from the combination of Harper's, the Fund For The Republic and the ADA.

Next on the list was the discovery that the Fund For The Republic is doing the same free propaganda job on college presidents. More about that and the fund's links with ADA tomorrow.

(LR)

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(CAUTION: ADVANCE LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY, JUNE 15, 1955 40258
A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

(COPYRIGHT, 1955, KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC.)

WASHINGTON, JUNE 14--On the surface, there appears to be no connection between the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action and the tax-free \$15 million Fund For The Republic.

Probably there actually is no formalized connection. But their similarity of purpose, their identity in objectives, is amazing. They both are dedicated to the destruction of any effective anti-Communism and to work toward a death-knell for the government's personnel security program.

The ADA, of course, is openly propagandistic, much as is, for example, the Democratic National Committee; the main difference is that ADA is somewhat further out in left field, although it also should be added that the same people who run ADA are trying to take over the Democratic Party and take it out to the left field fence, too.

The Fund For The Republic is a little more subtle in its propaganda and conducts it in somewhat more sophisticated fashion, but the anti-anti-Communist objectives are the same.

In recent months, the Fund has been spending substantial gobs of the \$15 million it was granted two years ago by the Ford Foundation with no strings attached, to send free copies of various "liberal" publications to substantial groups of influential Americans. One of the causes of this circularization has been an attempt to whitewash Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and clean him up in the public eye. That is a job.

Another objective has been to discredit the Government's personnel security program and to build up opposition to the "confidential informant" system. As part of this effort, it has sent to all Federal judges copies of three books and at least one reprint of a magazine article.

This space told yesterday about the reprint, an attack on use of ex-Communists as witnesses in Communist court cases, and how its author, one Richard H. Rovers, turns out to be a featured speaker at a forthcoming ADA "Summer Workshop in Practical Politics."

(MORE)

FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY JUNE 15, 1955

PAGE 2 40259

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

xxPolitics."

The three books sent to the judges -- several of whom, incidentally, have vented their annoyance at the Fund For The Republic and its unsolicited mailings in letters to me -- constitute another link between the Fund and the ADA.

The books were "Government by Investigation," written by Alan Barth, editorial writer for the leftish Washington Post; "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties," by Samuel A. Stouffer; and "Grand Inquest - The Story of Congressional Investigations," by Telford Taylor.

Page 4M of the May, 1955, issue of the ADA World is a sort of book review section. The two featured reviews -- both highly laudatory and commendatory -- are on "Government by Investigation" and "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties."

In the lower left corner of the page is a box with the heading: "Your ADA Book Club offers at bargain prices, the following May choices." The first book on the list is Taylor's "Grand Inquest." The Barth and Stouffer tomes, of course, also are on the same list. Coincidence? What do you think?

An interesting side-angle is that the ADA World's review of "Government by Investigation" is written by Martin Agronsky, Washington commentator for the American Broadcasting Company. Long known for his leftist views, Agronsky remarks that this book should have "its place on the reference shelf along with the Congressional Record and Mr. Webster's dictionary" for ^{working} Washington reporters. I place myself in that category but I can assure you the book has no place on my reference shelf.

Another interesting gimmick to this Fund For The Republic effort to propagandize the Federal judiciary and other important classes has come to light just in recent days. I now know of at least two college presidents who have received this same unwelcomed batch of alleged literary efforts.

I do not believe it will, but if this propagandizing of Federal judges and college presidents should win any converts to the "liberal" thinking advocated by the Fund it could be of major importance. More about that tomorrow, as well as an explanation of the Fund in effect is spending your and my money.

(fk)

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(ONLY FOR PAPERS PURCHASING LEWIS COLUMN. OTHERS MUST NOT USE.)

(CAUTION: ADVANCE LEWIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, JUNE 16, A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE.)

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

(COPYRIGHT, 1955, KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC.)

WASHINGTON, June 15--If a person or an organization wants to spend his or its money to propagandize the American public in behalf of a particular cause, that is his or its Constitutional American privilege, whether the cause be ultra-left, arch-reactionary or whatever.

Complaints about the Fund For The Republic's propaganda campaign against the government's personnel security program and against all forms of effective anti-Communism are based on a different premise.

They stem from the fact that because it enjoys a tax-exempt status as an allegedly philanthropic educational set-up, the Fund For The Republic in using its \$15 million for this leftist-supported campaign is using the money of you and me and all other taxpayers.

For every dollar the Fund would pay in taxes without its tax-exempt status, taxpayers must ante up a replacement dollar. Every dollar it would normally pay in taxes goes instead into its anti-anti-Communist campaign. Whether you realize it or not, all of us taxpayers thus are helping to finance the Fund For The Republic's "liberal" pitch, no matter how much some of us may abhor the idea.

If the Fund was conducting a truly educational campaign and presenting both sides of the picture so that the subjects of its propaganda bombardment could make up their own minds, that would be something else again. But it doesn't. Everything it does, every bit of propaganda it spends tax-exempt dollars to circulate, is slanted heavily to left-wing objectives.

The story has been told here of the leftist apologies it been sending to Federal judges, and of how it now develops that apparently is sending the same material to college presidents, the latter point, I have a letter from a prominent leader in the educational field who makes this point:

(MORE)

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1955

PAGE 2

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

XX point: 40261

"It strikes me that this would be an interesting and also very invidious field for operations of this kind. College presidents of course have large influence. First of all, they are dealing with the youth of our country all the time and producing the leaders of the next generation. They have a large influence over faculties and a large influence in their communities, and when they are religious leaders also that influence is carried far and wide among their religious groups."

The college president whose receipt of the Fund's material prompted this letter is proxy of a prominent Catholic university.

The highly-objective and praiseworthy weekly U.S. News and World Report recently published an interview with Attorney General Herbert Brownell in which he discussed at length the urgent necessity for the government's personnel security program and the extreme importance of evaluating and using information from confidential informants.

The magazine received so many requests for extra copies of the issue containing the interview that it made a special reprint of it. Has the Fund For The Republic shown any interest in it, or sent it to anyone? Of course not.

Nor has it shown the slightest bit of interest in anything else which in any way tends to support anti-Communism.

Reports are circulating that Henry Ford II, scion and now active policy maker of the auto making family, has become so disgusted with operations of the Fund For The Republic that he is considering making a public statement pointing out that neither he nor any member of his family, nor the Ford Foundation, has anything to do with the Fund's operations.

That is the case. The Ford Foundation made a \$15 million grant to the Fund two years ago to put it in operation but there were no strings whatsoever attached and the Fund can do as it pleases with its money.

Its first president was Fair Dealing internationalist Fay Hoffman; next, now-Sen. Clifford Case, a darling of the ADA; a Robert M. Hutchins, long-time president of the University of Chicago who throughout his career has been under attack as an ultra-left.

Quite an outfit. But something should be done to remove the mask of philanthropic education. Propagandistic, yes; educational, not in the slightest.

###

(P/S)

Mr. Tolson

6/11/55

L. B. Nichols

40254

4-1

While talking to Irving Ferman, the Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Ferman informed me of his concern regarding the Fund for the Republic and the actions of Mr. Ping Ferry who is in charge of its day to day operations. He pointed out that Ferry talked in terms that the Fund for the Republic is an action organization; that Ferry is in a position to influence the policy of organizations such as the National Education Association, the National Council of Churches and others, and that in his opinion, Ferry very definitely is far to the left. He further stated that in his opinion the Fund for the Republic is now moving into the field of propaganda and he mentioned specifically the action of the Fund for the Republic in sending out books and widely disseminating the reprints of the Denver Post series on "Faceless Informer."

Ferman then told me these reprints are now being distributed by the National Education Association; that funds had been allocated to the National Education Association by the Fund for the Republic for this purpose. Ferman further told me that Ferry is making money available to the Civil Liberties Clearing House and is going to make it a big project; that the Fund for the Republic is concentrating on the use of informants and related matters.

Ferman then informed me that he recently had had lunch with Marshall MacDuffie, Council for the Hennings Committee. MacDuffie told him that the Hennings Committee did not want to go into an enquiry on informants because this was a matter being handled by the Fund for the Republic.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-28-91 BY 20851 JAC

INDEXED - 67

COL - X1

100-391697-114
NOT RECORDED
174 JUN 17 1955

61-190-530
ORIGINAL FILED IN

71 JUN 23 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: June 14, 1955

FROM : MR. A. H. BELMONT

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 00875 JAP

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

On June 8, 1955, B. L. Willard, Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) furnished one copy each of two documents (enclosed) which reflect information relative to the captioned organization's collection of case histories in its study of the operation of Government loyalty and security programs. Mr. Willard was recontacted on June 10, 1955, by Special Agent Woods of the Liaison Section for information concerning the source of these documents. Willard stated that they were received by ONI from a District Intelligence Office which obtained them from a Reserve Naval Intelligence Officer on inactive duty who is employed by the Fund for the Republic. Willard did not know the name of the officer.

These documents include (1) a memorandum signed by W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund, setting forth information concerning methods to be used in collecting the case histories, the information to be included in the Fund's reports, and the planned distribution of these reports; and (2) a general outline to be followed by Fund employees in collecting these case histories. This outline provides for the gathering of detailed information concerning the employee's job status, security proceedings involving employee, nature of charges including a note as to the year of most recent charge, use of counsel, type and length of hearing, results of proceedings, and amount of employee's time and expense involved. This is the program which was announced on December 21, 1954, as being headed by Washington, D. C., attorney, Adam Yarmolinsky, at which time the various interested Federal agencies were discreetly requested to furnish the Bureau any pertinent information concerning any inquiries they received regarding security cases. Information concerning Yarmolinsky was furnished to you in my memoranda of December 30, 1954, and June 6, 1955.

RECOMMENDATION:

(1) For your information.

(2) That the enclosed memorandum for the Attorney General enclosing one copy each of the above-mentioned documents, with copies for Deputy Attorney General Rogers and Assistant Attorney General Tompkins, be forwarded.

mm/mlp (8)

Enclosure
100-391697

1 - Mr. Nichols

1 - Mr. Boardman

1 - Mr. Belmont

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - yellow

RECORDED - 5

INDEXED-52

2 JUN 21 1955

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Revised March 1, 1955

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
LOYALTY-SECURITY CASE STUDY

The Fund for the Republic has undertaken, as part of a fact-finding study of the operation of government loyalty and security programs, to collect case histories of several hundred cases arising under the various Federal personnel security programs, covering government employees, employees of government contractors, merchant seamen and port workers.

This case material is being prepared from information obtained in each instance through the lawyer who has advised or represented the employee involved in the proceeding. The information contained in the case histories includes a summary of the charges, the procedure whereby the employee presented his response to the charges, the nature of the hearing, if any, afforded to the employee, the outcome of the case, and any comments the lawyer may wish to make. The lawyer will also be asked for his ideas on possible improvements in the loyalty-security procedures, and on problems which require special attention.

The client's name will not be included in the report, and the facts of the case will be so stated as to avoid, so far as possible, any identification of the person or persons involved. The report will be submitted to the lawyer in draft form, in order to insure protection of his client's identity.

The Fund has made a special grant to The Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund to establish a Committee on the Federal loyalty-security programs. The Committee has been asked to look into all aspects of the programs and to make recommendations for changes, if such changes, in its judgment, are needed. These case histories will be available to the Committee, together with information from other sources, in connection with its study. The members of the Committee are: Dudley B. Bonsal, New York, Chairman; Henry J. Friendly, New York; former Judge Harold M. Kennedy, New York; Monte M. Lemann, New Orleans; John O'Melveny, Los Angeles; George Roberts, New York; and Whitney North Seymour, New York. Additions to the Committee are expected to be made.

The Fund for the Republic was organized as a non-profit corporation for the purpose of "supporting activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights."

The members of the Fund's Board of Directors are: Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman, Harry S. Ashmore, Chester A. Bowles, Charles W. Cole, Russell Dearmont, Richard J. Finnegan, Erwin M. Griswold, Robert Hutchins, William H. Joyce, Jr., Meyer Kestnbaum, M. Albert Linton, John Lord O'Brian, Jubal R. Partin, Elmo Roper, Robert E. Sherwood, George Shuster, Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, and James D. Zellerbach. Bethuel M. Webster is counsel to the Fund.

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ENCLOSURE

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- 2 -

The case histories are for the confidential use of The Fund for the Republic and the Special Committee of The Association of the Bar of the City of New York. They will not be circulated beyond that point. It is proposed to prepare a limited number of cases in a form which would make it possible to circulate them without restriction. The staff interviewers who obtain this limited group of case histories will ascertain that in each case the lawyer and the client are willing to make it available without restrictions and what changes (such as deleting the agency name) should be made in the case, if published, in order further to protect the identity of the employee.

✓
W. H. Perry
Vice President

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GENERAL OUTLINE FOR CASE HISTORIES

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1. Employee's job status before charges were brought: place of employment and nature of job (professional or clerical, skilled or unskilled), salary level, number of direct subordinates, if any, degree of sensitivity of work (any access to classified materials and if so, what classification?), length of tenure of job, length of tenure in government service (or with same private employer, in industrial security case). Where case involves facility clearance under industrial security program subject will be a contractor rather than an employee.
2. Had employee been the subject of previous loyalty or security proceedings? Summarize the proceedings briefly, being as specific as possible about the content of previous charges and stating as to each charge whether it was repeated in the case under study. These charges should be quoted verbatim if possible.*
3. Was employee interrogated prior to formulation of charges, and if so, how? How was employee informed of charges (informal conference with security officer, formal interrogatory, with or without indications of need for hearing. Any pressure to resign?) In industrial security cases, indicate whether charges were based on employee's personnel security questionnaire, and if so, on what statements in the personnel security questionnaire.
4. Nature of charges. Wherever possible, quote charges verbatim. Note year referred to by most recent charge.
 - 4.a. Was counsel retained, and if so, at what stage in the proceedings?*
5. What was the content of employee's response, and what was the function of counsel, if any, in preparing it? Note number and nature of supporting affidavits and exhibits, if any. What affirmative showing, if any, did the employee make as to his meeting the criteria of the program, in addition to his attempted refutation of specific charges against him.
6. Did employee attempt, and if so was he able, to obtain amplification or greater specification of charges at any point? Specify when, how and what. Did he, without requesting, receive subsequent more detailed specifications on the initiative of the security officials.
7. If program procedure called for formal evaluation of written submission, without opportunity for hearing at this stage (as in industrial security program), what was the result of this evaluation, including findings, if any, released to employee?
8. If there was a hearing, what evidence was introduced by the employee? By the Government? What was the order of presentation, and the procedure followed: Was an attorney-advisor to the Board present and did he have occasion to resolve any question of law? How long did the hearing go on? Was any evidence introduced by the Government outside the scope of the charges, and was a continuance sought or granted? The interviewer should be alert for comments or questions by Board members, indicating possible articulate or inarticulate premises of judgment. If the transcript of the hearing was not inspected by the interviewer, he should so state at the outset of his description of the hearing.*

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9. What descriptive comments does the lawyer have on the hearing? (e.g.: demeanor of the Board, conduct of attorney-advisor, extent to which hearing was confined to written charges, treatment of witnesses, indications of Board's interpretation of criteria.)
10. Did employee receive a report of the Board's recommendation, with or without statement of reasons, and did he have an opportunity to comment on these?
11. What decision was rendered, and in what form?
12. What (further) appellate steps were taken, if any? (Under the Industrial Security Program the initial hearing is before Appeal Division.)
13. What was the final result of this proceeding?
- 13.a. What was the date (month and year) when charges were first received by the employee? Include dates of any charges under the previous proceedings.*
14. What was the time interval between each pair of the steps described above? In industrial security cases, if employee was cleared, include time interval between final clearance and receipt of restitution money.
15. Was employee suspended, with or without pay, or transferred to less sensitive employment, and if so, at what point? If the employee was restored to duty was lost pay made up to him?*
16. How many working hours of lawyer's time were spent on the matter, and (where the information is available) what fee was charged? In industrial security cases, did the employer make any contribution to legal expenses or other expenses?
17. Are there any facts about the employee's subsequent job record which the employee's counsel believes may be related to the security proceeding? (If the employee was reinstated, subsequent promotion, job changes, effects of reduction in force, etc.; if the employee was dismissed what has been his subsequent employment history?)

* New or revised material

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Los Angeles (100-0-63831)

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: 6/17/55

Bc
Be

MARTIN F. SHAKLEY, Attorney, 210 W. Seventh St., Los Angeles, contacted the Los Angeles Office and advised that one RUTH JACOBS recently visited his office and represented herself to be a member of the Fund for the Republic, Inc. According to SHAKLEY, JACOBS stated that she was one of many conducting case history studies of all types of loyalty and security cases, and she requested the background of a client of SHAKLEY's, who was released from his job because his sister had married a CP member.

SHAKLEY said he gave no information to JACOBS and had his secretary copy the following names from the documents carried by JACOBS:

Members of Board of Directors:

PAUL G. HOFFMAN - Chairman
HARRY S. ASHMORE
CHESTER A. BOWLES
CHARLES W. COLE
RUSSELL DEARMONT
RICHARD J. FINNEGAN
ERWIN N. GRISWOLD
ROBERT HUTCHINS
WILLIAM H. JOYCE, JR.
MEYER KESTENBAUM
M. ALBERT LINTON
JOHN LORD O'BRIEN
JUBAL R. PARTIN
ELMO E. SHERWOOD
GEORGE SHUSTER
Mrs. ELEANOR B. STEVENSON
JAMES D. ZELLERBACH
BETHUEL M. WEBSTER - Counsel to the Fund

The files of the Los Angeles Office contain no information identifiable with RUTH JACOBS.

DVG:fjw
(3)
Registered

RECORDED - 94

INDEXED - 94

EX-122

55 JUL 1 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 8805/ab

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6-17-55
INT. SEC.

LA 100-9-63831

Details concerning the Fund for the Republic, Inc. have been previously forwarded to the Bureau by Los Angeles letter 10/7/54 and airtel 3/21/55, and the above is being furnished for the additional information of the Bureau.

NUMEROUS RE

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SEARCH SLIP

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b7C

Subj: Ruth Jacobs

Supervisor

Room

7633

Searcher

R#

Date

Initial

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY 2058 STJ/ap

101-6820

100-108381

100-3-65-1119 P# 10

100-401403-3

128-5145-19

65-56402-1595 X p 4, 6, 13, 15

65-11750-102^{P3}, 103

Ruth Evelyn

123-6603

116-55449

Ruth Panama

101-6820

100-3-65-1145 P# 41, 1045

128-5145-19 p 2, 9

101-6819-2

100-3-65-1043, 1158 P# 56

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 6/14/55

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Fulton Lewis told me that he is already getting a very favorable reaction to his three articles on the Fund for the Republic. He further states that the more he goes into this the more concerned he becomes and that he is going to New York in the near future and is going to openly approach the Fund for the Republic to find out and secure an account as to exactly how they have spent their money and what literature they have disseminated. He then feels that on the basis of the information that is known today that the Fund for the Republic is a breach of the laws creating foundations and funds should not be siphoned off for the benefit of any one given class and that he has his attorney now studying the proposition of a citizen's suit against the Fund for the Republic. This ought to be rather interesting.

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY SP8BJJ/ap

RECORDED-57

801-7

100-391677-118

6 JUN 21 1955

66 JUL 1 1955

W. J. Tamm
W. J. Tamm

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-391697)
 FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-0-80959)
 SUBJECT: FORD FOUNDATION
 INFORMATION CONCERNING

DATE: 6/20/55

Rebureau 3/4/53.

WILLIAM WADMAN (NA), Security Officer, University of California, Berkeley, reported on 6/10/55 that the FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC STUDY, subsidized by the Ford Foundation, had canvassed faculty members of the University, conducting interviews and recording the results thereof.

questionnaire for

One faculty member had declined to answer the questions of the interviewer and had obtained a copy of the questionnaire, which he turned over to Mr. WADMAN. Mr. WADMAN furnished two photostatic copies of this questionnaire to this office. One copy is forwarded herewith to the Bureau for its information. One copy is being retained in the San Francisco file.

The faculty member who turned in this questionnaire was [redacted] whose name should be treated as highly confidential. The name of the woman who had desired to conduct the interview with [redacted] was not known. The questionnaire was to be filled out by the woman conducting the interview.

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The above is for information purposes only.

Encls (1) ENCL,
 REGISTERED
 GWS:mal
 (3)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-24-98 BY 2080 [signature]
 FBI
 DIVISION SECTION

FBI
 INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION

JUN 23 5 31 PM '55

RECORDED - 44

2 JUN 27 1955

66 JUL 8 1955 INDEXED - 44

EX-121

NA SEC

100-391697-119

JUN 10 2 44 PM '55

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classification per OGA Letter dated: 2/14/2011

1 - tick.
1 -
1 - Mr. Nichols

July 6, 1955

SEE REVERSE
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION

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b7C

Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

Director, FBI

RICHARD H. ROVERE

Classified by 2260110089
Declassify on: OADR 7-25-89

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Reference is made to your request of June 24, 1955, for any background information on the captioned individual, who is author of an article appearing in the May, 1955, issue of "Harper's" magazine entitled "The Kept Witnesses."

According to "Who's Who in America," 1954-55, Richard Halmerth Rovere, born in Jersey City, New Jersey, on May 5, 1915, has been a contributing editor to "Harper's" since 1949. Rovere received an A.B. Degree from Columbia University in 1939. He has been employed as associate editor of "New Masses," 1938-39; assistant editor of "The Nation," 1940-43; editor of "Common Sense," 1943-44; and staff writer of "The New Yorker" since 1944. His residence address is Quaker Lane, Hyde Park, New York. "New Masses" was described by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944, as "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service" (Garland Fund).

(C) Rovere has not been the subject of investigation by this Bureau. In April, 1943,

b1

(C) Rovere had stated that he was at one time a rabid Communist, but that he withdrew from the Communist Party when the Russian-Nazi Pact was signed. In March, 1945, a confidential informant, who has furnished this Bureau reliable information in the past, reported that in 1938 while Rovere was at Bard College, Annandale, New York, then a branch of Columbia University, he was a member of the Young Communist League (YCL) and later became a member of the Communist Party. This informant stated that Rovere disaffiliated himself from the Communist Party in 1939 and that he no longer had the least bit of sympathy for the Communist Party. The YCL has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450

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b7C
b7D

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Harbo
- Mohr
- Parsons
- Rosen
- Tamm
- Sizoo
- Winterrowd
- Tele. Room
- Holloman
- Gandy

100-258542-11)

100-196902 (Rovere)

EFT:mlp

1 - 100-391697 (Fund for the Republic)

NOT RECORDED
170 JUL 11 1955

YELLOW
DATE
JUN 11 1955
MAILED

NOTE: A copy of yellow is being place in file re "Fund for the Republic" in view of fact Assistant Attorney General Tompkins

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to Assistant Attorney General Tompkins

The above information was confirmed by Rovere during an interview by Special Agents of this Bureau on February 5, 1953. Rovere stated that during his college days he had considered himself a Communist but that he could not honestly state whether he had ever had a Communist Party card in his possession. Rovere further stated that he had not been a joiner or an active worker for any particular Communist organization at the time he considered himself a Communist. b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"The Guild Progressive" of May 15, 1940, a publication of the Independent Progressive Members of the Newspaper Guild of New York City, carried an article by Richard H. Rovere entitled "I Messes Editor Charges Guild Leaders Run by Communists." In this article Rovere stated there were some Guild administration candidates who were Communist Party members; that there were some who held no cards but who were nevertheless championing the Party line. He stated that "Candidates who consistently take political bearings from Communists are unsatisfactory to run the Guild because their attitudes are determined according to conditions that bear not the slightest on the welfare of American newspaper workers." (100-7326-240 p. 8)

A supplement of the October 3, 1942, issue of "The Nation," a liberal weekly magazine, included an article by Richard H. Rovere, assistant managing editor of "The Nation" re "J. B. Matthews - The Informer." In this article Rovere was highly critical of Matthews, then research director for the Dies Committee, and stated "Most informers are moved either by spite against their former friends or by a simple desire to save their own hides. Matthews is inspired by a spite so great that it has become an almost disinterested zeal."

(61-7582-A) P M 10-1-42)

NOTE CONT. memo of June 10, 1955, advised that a reprint of Rovere's article was being distributed by the Fund.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: Mrs. MARY KNOWLES

DATE: June 24, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-24-89 BY 208 JCS/JP

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

The New York Times for June 23, 1955, has an extensive story about the award of \$5000.00 to the library of Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania. The award was made because the librarian invoked the Fifth Amendment when appearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953 and declined to furnish information although she admitted outside the Committee that she had served as secretary in the Samuel Adams School in Boston from 1945 to 1947, which school is on the Attorney General's subversive list.

The American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution demanded Mrs. Knowles' dismissal but the Quakers who ran the library stood firm; and accordingly, the Fund for the Republic gave the grant of \$5000.00 for courageous and effective defense of democratic principles.

The Internal Security Subcommittee is very much exercised and this might very well cause the Committee to start checking into the activities of the Fund for the Republic as it is said that this now reflects the Fund for the Republic is an action organization.

It is suggested that the Domestic Intelligence Division get up a very complete and thorough summary on Mrs. Knowles.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
LBN:gjm

(4)

NOT RECORDED

JUL 6 1955

11 JUL 6 1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-368613-26

They do more talking of what
they are thinking about doing
to take less action.

JUL 8 1955

f382 H.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *V. pert*DATE: 6/28/55 *sh*FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT:

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Boardman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parsons	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tamm	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sizoo	<input type="checkbox"/>
Winterrowd	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input type="checkbox"/>
Holloman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input type="checkbox"/>

NO LBN FILE 100-391697

Irving Ferman, who has become exercised over the Fund for the Republic, has furnished me with the attached list of materials which have been distributed by the Fund for the Republic and Ferman feels this supports his conviction that the Fund for the Republic is going beyond the purpose of a foundation endowed by tax exempt funds. He does not feel that the attached list is complete but thought it might be of interest.

Enclosure

3 *W*
ENCL.,cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. BelmontLBN:fc
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 88570/af

173
RECORDED - 17
INDEXED - 17

85 JUL 13 1955

100-391697-120
2 JUL 6 1955

W. H. H.
INT. SEC.

A memo
from

IRVING FERMAN

6/27/55

Dear Sam -

I am attaching herewith a copy of the bibliography that I have pieced together of materials distributed by the Fund for the Republic, which I believe supports my feeling that the Fund is going beyond the purview of a Foundation endowed by deductible funds.

Because it does not represent an official list, the citations are not complete.

The only person I have sent this to is Ben Marshall.

With best wishes, IF

Compliments of LAW REPORTER PRINTING CO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-80 BY 888573128

100-371677-120

ENCLOSURE

- 1) Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, April 1955--Security Issue
(Distributed through Federation of American Scientists)
- 2) Faceless Informer--Series appearing in the Denver Post, September 1954.
(Distributed through National Education Association)
- 3) The Kept Witnesses--Richard H. Rovers, Reprinted from
Harper's Magazine, May, 1955.
- 4) The Psuedo-Conservative Revolt--Richard Hofstadler, American
Scholar, Winter Issue 1954-55
- 5) Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States.
- 6) Bibilography on the Communist Problem in the United States.
- 7) Alan Barth-- Congressional Investigation--Viking Press.
- 8) Stouffer--Communism, Conformism and Civil Liberties.
- 9) Murrow--Oppenheimer Telecast.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 2038 BTJ/ag

- 1) Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, April 1955--Security Issue
(Distributed through Federation of American Scientists)
- 2) Faceless Informer---Series appearing in the Denver Post,
September 1954.
(Distributed through National Education Association)
- 3) The Kept Witnesses---Richard H. Rovers, Reprinted from
Harper's Magazine, May, 1955
- 4) The Psuedo-Conservative Revolt---Richard Hofstadter, American
Scholar, Winter Issue 1954-55
- 5) Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States
- 6) Bibilography on the Communist Problem in the United States.
- 7) Alan Barth---Congressional Investigation---Viking Press
- 8) Stouffer--Communism, Conformism and Civil Liberties.
- 9) Murrow---Oppenheimer Telecast

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-81 BY 258 BTJ/afp

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 7/12/55

FROM : J. P. Mohr

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 45014- Senator Mundt, (R) South Dakota, extended his remarks to
45015 include an editorial entitled "A Misguided Award." The
reference to the FBI, contained in this editorial, was set
forth in a memorandum prepared earlier this date.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 20815131 a8

Original filed in: 66-1721-1131

INDEXED - 6
EX-125
NOT RECORDED
76 JUL 22 1955

3916 97-121

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for Mohr 7/12/55 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

51 JUL 25 1955

RECORDED - 83

The Attorney General

July 20, 1955

100-391697-122

Director, FBI

INDEXED - 83

EDITORIAL CONCERNING THE
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

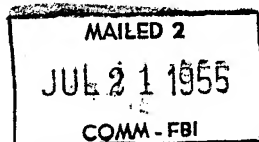
Enclosed is a Photostat of an
entitled "Abetting Disloyalty" from the J
issue of "The Tablet," which I thought mi
interest to you.

Enclosure

CC - Mr. William P. Rogers (with copy of enclosure)
Deputy Attorney General

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Abetting Disloyalty

The Fund for the Republic is in the news again, this time for giving \$5,000 to the Quakers of Plymouth Meeting, Pa., who would not discharge a librarian in the face of protests by patriotic citizens of the town. The librarian is Mrs. Mary Knowles, a former secretary of the Samuel Adams School in Boston, who in 1953 refused to answer questions before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on her Communist affiliations. The Samuel Adams School was named an "adjunct" of the Communist Party by the Attorney General. Mrs. Knowles was also identified by Herbert A. Philbrick, F.B.I. counterspy, as a member of his own Communist cell.

Joining the protests of patriotic groups, the Plymouth Township school board forbade teachers to take children to the library. Contributions by the two townships and the Community Chest to the library were stopped. Confronted with these protests against employment of a person who wouldn't answer questions involving treason to the United States, the Quakers remained adamant. As a reward, the Fund for the Republic gave them \$5,000 for "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles," thereby making it a "democratic principle" that one should refuse to testify concerning his or her disloyalty before a committee set up by the Congress of the United States.

The Fund for the Republic is a curious instrument set up in 1952 with \$15,000,000 of Ford Foundation money at its disposal. It is dedicated to eliminating "restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry and expression in the United States and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights."

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Send copy
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memo to Attorney Gen.
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JUL 27 1955

THE TABLET
 A Catholic Weekly
 Brooklyn, New York
 July 9, 1955

4 H&H

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: June 29, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: BEN SEGAL

LABOR CONSULTANT AND WASHINGTON, D. C.,
REPRESENTATIVE OF FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~
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Gandy _____SYNOPSIS:Classified by ~~283059~~
Declassify on: OADR 7-25-89

Congressional Record for June 16, 1955, contains extension of remarks by Representative Frank Thompson of New Jersey concerning Fund For The Republic which includes article in "Labor's Daily" of June 16. "Labor's Daily" article quotes Ben Segal, Labor Consultant and Washington, D. C., Representative of Fund For The Republic, in refuting column by George Sokolsky on Fund For Republic. You instructed memo be prepared setting forth pertinent identifiable information concerning Segal. "Labor's Daily" of June 16 describes Segal as "not quite 39" and as having extensive background in field of labor and civil liberties; as Fulbright scholar in England; formerly associated with CIO Department of Education; formerly organizer in South for CIO Textile Workers; formerly Midwest organizer for AFL Ladies Garment Workers; formerly President of AFL Federation of Teachers Local Union; as having taught and visited in Europe and Israel; as former Director of Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia; and as member of National Executive Board of National Religion and Labor Foundation. Segal has taken an interest in matter of loyalty and security programs of Government and private industry. Ben Segal is very common name and there are numerous references to that name. Available background information concerning captioned person is general and indicates he has traveled widely; however, it is believed information below may pertain to captioned person. In 1942 one Ben Segal was in Vera Cruz, Mexico, at camp of American Friends Service Committee. This Segal was on Censorship Watch List. Communications to and from him reflected he and others at Mexican camp were Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors. Discussions at Mexican camp involved such topics as discrimination, and Segal was reading publication of Socialist Party there. In December, 1943, Segal wrote to individual in Mexico from Michigan indicating he had been in northern Michigan for at least 4 months as Regional Labor Organizer with International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was preparing to go to Civilian Public Service Camp, and planned to join Friends meeting in Chicago because his philosophy was combination of Quakerism and Socialism. In 1942 Segal in Mexico was described as being from family which was in prison in Hungary 1917-19 before his father, a teacher and believed radical, brought family to Chicago. When this Segal

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June 29, 1955

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was 13, mother and father were dead; and he put himself through school, college and became active in radical youth activities and dedicated to Pacifism and social work.' References to Ben Segal in Chicago in 1942 and 1943 reflect he had interest in nondiscrimination and was opposed to military service. In 1943 Ben Segal of Institute of Racial Minorities was described by informant as definitely member of professional section of Communist Party. References to name Ben Segal in Philadelphia reflect activity relating to fair employment practices, Socialist Party and union affairs. In 1945 through 1946 Ben Segal of Philadelphia was affiliated with Bi-Partisan Committee for Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practices Committee. Ben Segal of Bi-Partisan Committee was reported as "known member of Communist Party." Ben Segal, Educational Director of CIO, was active in forming discussion group in Lynchburg, Virginia, in late 1940's. National Religion and Labor Foundation with which Segal is Executive Board member, founded in 1932 by man described by Louis Budenz as Communist; top officials of Foundation have been described as pro-Russian and publication of Foundation described as showing evidence of Communist Party line. Technical Surveillance in Washington, D. C., and New York disclosed references to name Ben Segal in connection with telephone calls at CIO Maritime Union in 1942-45. One such reference reflects Segal was invited to (Harry) Bridges Victory Party in June, 1945. In February, 1948, Ben Segal of CIO reportedly was being considered to replace Lee Pressman who resigned as General Counsel of CIO and United Steel Workers in disagreement over candidacy of Henry Wallace for President. In October, 1952, Ben Segal of CIO spoke against segregation policy at public hearing regarding District of Columbia recreation system. (Available background data on captioned Ben Segal was sufficient to identify some of above information with him and insufficient to identify other information as relating to him.)

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

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June 29, 1955

DETAILS:~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Congressional Record for June 16, 1955, contains, on pages A4328 and A4329, an extension of remarks by Representative Frank Thompson of New Jersey concerning the Fund For The Republic. Included in the extension of remarks is an article by G. B. Holcomb which appeared in "Labor's Daily" of June 16, 1955. The article deals in a critical manner with the column concerning the Fund For The Republic which George Sokolsky wrote earlier this month. It quotes Ben Segal, Labor Consultant and Washington Representative of the Fund For The Republic, at length in refuting Mr. Sokolsky's column.

In connection with this matter, you instructed that a memorandum be prepared setting forth pertinent identifiable information concerning Segal.

INFORMATION IN BUFILES:

③ "Labor's Daily" of June 16, 1955, describes Ben Segal as a Labor Consultant and the Washington Representative of the Fund For The Republic. It quotes Segal as saying, "It is a tragedy today that too many people fear to speak up on issues if perchance the Communists are making or have made noise about it. By this time, everyone should know Communists have never been sincere about causes they espouse, except that of furthering the interests of the Soviet Union. It is the issues which are important, not who makes the noise. We have to be careful not to use the same tactics used by the Communists."

The article describes Segal as "not quite 39," and as having an extensive background in the field of labor and civil liberties. He is described as having been an Associate Director of the CIO Department of Education; as one of two senior Fulbright scholars last year on workers' education in which connection he studied British trade unions in England; as having "taught and visited in Norway, Denmark, Switzerland (for the International Labor Organization), Austria, Yugoslavia and Israel"; as having been an organizer in the South for the CIO Textile Workers for five years; as having been a Midwest organizer for the AFL Ladies Garment Workers; as having directed the Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia; and as having served as President of a local union of AFL Federation of Teachers. He further is described as a member of the National Executive Board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

Segal met his wife, Elizabeth, in North Carolina; and they have a daughter who is about 2 years old.

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It is obvious from the article in "Labor's Daily" that Segal has taken a deep interest in the matter of loyalty and security programs of the government and private industry. X

It is observed that Ben Segal is a very common name, and there are numerous references to that name. Additionally, the background information concerning Segal set forth above is general in scope and indicates that this individual has traveled widely. It is believed, however, that the information set forth below may pertain to captioned individual. X

In 1942 one Ben Segal was in Vera Cruz, Mexico, at a camp of the American Friends Service Committee*. This Ben Segal was placed on the Censorship Watch List at the request of the Bureau in April, 1942, and was removed in August, 1943. (62-62736-5-17, 268)
(A) (See page 12 for Observations on Identity)

Communications intercepted reflected that Segal, as well as others at the camp in Mexico, were Pacifists and opposed to war. Segal was described in 1942 as being a Conscientious Objector and publicity agent for the Pacifist camp in Mexico. Additionally, persons at the camp discussed such topics as discrimination against Jews, Negroes and Japanese aliens. (64-2700-1065; 100-11392-55; 64-2700-D-152; 25-88002-1)

In correspondence, Segal indicated he was reading "The Call," a publication of the Socialist Party, at the camp in Mexico. (64-2700-1446)

It is not known exactly how long this Ben Segal stayed at the American Friends Service Committee Camp in Mexico; however, in a letter in December, 1943, to an individual in Mexico, Segal indicated he had been in Northern Michigan for at least four months and had been working as a Regional Labor Organizer with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; that the areas in which he had worked were excellent territories for any type of "Social Action" and that he had worked with the Fair Employment Practices Council. In this letter Segal further indicated he was preparing to go to a Civilian Public Service Camp, and if he could not be useful there, then he still had the alternative of going to jail. He further indicated he planned to join the Friends meeting in Chicago because he had found that his philosophy of life represented a combination of Quakerism and Socialism. (62-62736-2-15789)

* American Friends Service Committee was subject of Selective Service; Sedition; Internal Security-R investigation.

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In connection with the above Ben Segal, the letterhead for the Youth Committee for Democracy in January, 1942, reflected that he was Midwest Secretary of that organization. That organization was cooperating with the Workers Defense League, reportedly a Socialist group. In July, 1942, Segal was described as having had a "tough life." His family was said to have been Hungarian and to have been in prison in Hungary in 1917-1919. His father, a teacher and believed to have been a radical, brought the family to Chicago after their release from prison. Reportedly, Segal's father soon discovered that he had leprosy and was sent to a sanitarium in Louisiana where he slowly rotted--finally died after he learned of his wife's death in Chicago. Reportedly, Ben Segal was 13 when his father died, and Ben and his sisters were left with an uncle with whom Ben did not get along very well. Ben Segal was described as having soon left his uncle "to shift for himself," as having put himself through school and as having fought in the Golden Gloves in Chicago (and it is believed also semi-professionally). In the communication in July, 1942, Ben Segal is further described as having worked his way through college, being elected to Phi Beta Kappa and as being very active in all radical youth activities and dedicated to Pacifism and social work. (100-134765-1)

(It previously has been noted that the wife of the captioned Ben Segal is named Elizabeth and that he met her in North Carolina. The Ben Segal who was at the camp in Mexico corresponded with one Ruth H. Urice in Michigan in 1942, and his letters indicated that he very much desired to marry her. However, it is noted that the descriptive data in "Labor's Daily" concerning captioned Ben Segal does not indicate that he served in the armed forces despite the fact that he was approximately 25 years old in 1941--thus it would appear possible that he, like the Segal in Mexico, is a Pacifist and was opposed to military service. Additionally, it is noted that captioned Ben Segal was a Midwest organizer for the AFL Ladies Garment Workers and was interested in equal job opportunities--as was the Ben Segal in Mexico.)

In the previously mentioned letter to a person in Mexico in December, 1943, Segal mentioned that his address after January 3, 1944, would be Civilian Public Service Camp Number 42, Wellston, Michigan. In connection with the Internal Security - R investigation of the Socialist Party of the USA, the Detroit Office advised that Ben Segal of Wellston, Michigan, was listed in a bulletin of the Socialist Party as one of the delegates to the National Convention in Pennsylvania, in June, 1944. (61-626-285; 62-62736-2-15789)

June 29, 1955

There are several references in Bufiles to a Ben Segal in Chicago. It is noted that the Ben Segal who was in Mexico reportedly had lived in Chicago. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The "Daily Worker" of August 16, 1937, contains an article concerning the Jane Addams Memorial and Peace Parade Conference at the Central YMCA in Chicago. Listed among those who were to be at the conference was Ben Segal, Chairman of the youth section of the conference. (61-7561-146X) (B) (See page 12 for Observations on Identity)

In connection with the Internal Security - X investigation of the Post War World Council, the New York Office reported that as of December, 1942, Ben Segal, 740 North Rush Street, Chicago, was the Chicago representative of the Council. This organization was described as a Socialist front group headed by Norman Thomas which supported Fair Employment Practices, Freedom of India, and opposed racial discrimination and evacuation of Japanese-Americans. (100-273014-8) (C) (See page 12 for Observations on Identity)

In connection with the Internal Security - C investigation of the Chicago Committee to Free Gandhi, the Chicago Office advised that the Committee had picketed the office of the British Consulate in Chicago in February-March, 1943, and that its headquarters were Room 406C at 740 Rush Street. According to the Chicago Office, Room 406C was in the Methodist Publishing House Building and was occupied by Ben Segal, the Youth Committee For Democracy, the Post War Council and one George Houser. (100-165165-7)

In connection with the Internal Security investigation of the March on Washington Movement, the Chicago Office reported that Ben Sigel, Secretary of the Fair Employment Practices Committee and member of the Post War World Council, 740 North Rush Street, had attended a meeting in June, 1943, of the March on Washington Movement in Chicago and that the meeting was devoted largely to the matter of preventing race riots. The Chicago Office further reported that Ben Segal had talked to an A. Philip Randolph concerning a CIO council meeting on the Detroit race riots, which meeting had been held in June 28, 1943. Segal reportedly told Randolph that the "Communist group usually loads the program with speakers and that they would probably ask Randolph to speak because Segal had suggested him." Randolph reportedly told Segal that he did not wish to be mixed up with any Communists. (100-95014-372)

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In a report concerning the Communist Party in the Chicago Field Division, the Chicago Office advised that a confidential informant had stated on July 8, 1943, that the Institute of Racial Minorities had been established under the auspices of the Post War World Council and that Ben Segal of the Lawson YMCA was Executive Secretary. The Institute was described as having been set up by a group of professional men and women, aided by a small unit from trade unions. The confidential informant stated that Segal was definitely a member of the professional section of the Communist Party. (The informant was [redacted] who has been discontinued.) (100-3-14-1928)

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In connection with the Internal Security ~~xxx~~ investigation of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Newark Office advised in August, 1943, that Ben Segal was believed to have been assigned by his draft board to a Civilian Public Service Camp "but not reporting." Newark requested that the Chicago Office locate Segal at 740 Rush Street in Chicago and determine the local draft board involved. With reference to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Newark Office advised that a picketing of the United States Senate Building in Washington had been scheduled for April 6, 1943, and that Pacifists affiliated with the Fellowship had been working with the Socialist Party in New York in this effort. In this regard, an "April 6 Action Committee" had been formed under the leadership of a brother of Norman Thomas, and one Ben Segal was reported to be a member of that Committee. (61-3415-214 and 100-135-31-18)

The Chicago Office reported in May, 1945, that the Committee of Racial Equality had been founded at the University of Chicago in 1942 for the purpose of eliminating racial discrimination by interracial, nonviolent, direct action. The leaders of the Committee were reputed to be members of the Socialist Party and one of them was Ben Segal of the University of Chicago. (100-6007-7)(D) (See page 13 for

Observations on Identity)

(7) There are a number of references in Bufiles to the name Ben Segal in the vicinity of Philadelphia. [A Weekly Intelligence Summary for the Third Service Command of the Army (hereafter referred to as WIS) for April 21, 1945, reflects that the South Philadelphia Coordinating Council held a meeting on April 12, 1945, at which Ben Segal pleaded for support of a bill relating to the Fair Employment Practices Committee. (100-7600-2953) (E) (See page 13 for

Observations on Identity)

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The WIS for April 14, 1945, reflects that Segal was Chairman of a meeting in Philadelphia at which a representative of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union attacked Russia's policy in Poland. (100-7660-2910) (F) (See page 13 for Observations on Identity)

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The WIS for July 6, 1945, reflects that Ben Segal, Philadelphia, attended the state-wide conference of the Bi-Partisan Committee in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, at which a coalition with members of the Socialist Party was planned to gain control of the conference. However, the planned strategy of the Communists prevailed. (100-7660-3148) (G) (See page 13 for Observations on Identity)

The WIS for October 5, 1945, reflected that a Socialist Party Labor Branch meeting was held in Philadelphia, at which the President of a local CIO union spoke and urged the organization of a strong Labor Party. Ben Segal, "organizer of the Socialist Party," reportedly was present and active at this meeting. (100-7660-3477) (H) (See page 13 for Observations on Identity)

The WIS for March 1, 1946, reflects that Ben Segal, former organizer for the Socialist Party, was elected Chairman of the Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia (CEJO). [Reportedly, Magistrate J. H. Rainey of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People refused to serve on the Board of CEJO, describing it as a phony, paper organization which was dominated by persons whose sincerity regarding racial relations was questionable. (100-7660-3793) (I) (See page 14 for Observations on Identity)]

The WIS for April 5, 1946, reflects that Ben Segal was Director of the CEJO. (100-7660-3773)

In the Internal Security -C investigation of the "State Bipartisan Committee for a Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practices Committee," the Philadelphia Office reported that Ben Segal was made Chairman of the Committee on Finance at the conference of the Bi-Partisan Committee which was held in Harrisburg on June 28, 1945. It further was reported that Ben Segal, "Organizer for the Socialist Party, Philadelphia," attended an Executive Board meeting of the Pennsylvania Committee for a Permanent FEPC in Harrisburg on July 10, 1945. Named as one of 47 "known members of the Communist Party" who were among the members of the Bi-Partisan Committee who had taken an active part in its functions was Ben Segal. (100-344664-3)

In connection with the investigation of the Philadelphia Bi-Partisan Committee for a Pennsylvania FEPC, the Philadelphia Office

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previously had reported in October, 1945, that a mass rally was held in Philadelphia on March 23, 1945, which related to fair employment matters and that Ben Segal reportedly attended the rally. (100-344664-1)

In connection with the above investigation of the Bi-Partisan Committee, the Philadelphia Office reported in February, 1947, that Ben Segal was a "known member of the Communist Party" who was active in the Bi-Partisan Committee. The WIS for August 9, 1946, reflected that Ben Segal, Director of the Council for Equal Job Opportunity and Secretary of the CIO Anti-Discrimination Committee of Delaware and Philadelphia Industrial Union Councils, had written a letter to the Editor of the "Philadelphia Record" defending the Fair Employment Practices Committee which stated, "Those who suffer discrimination would be less likely to be driven to violent or unlawful behavior, or to be misled by un-American propagandists, when they know they can turn to the government for redress." (100-344664-6)

(It is to be noted that the captioned Ben Segal formerly was Director of the Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia. It is not known whether he is identical with the person described as being a known Communist who was reported to be affiliated with the Bi-Partisan Committee for a Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practices Committee.)

It is observed that captioned individual is said to have been Associate Director of the CIO Department of Education and to have been an organizer in the South for the CIO Textile Workers.

The Washington Field Office reported in December, 1949, that one Leroy Moran, subject of a now closed Security Matter - C investigation, had listed a Dr. Ben Segal, "an educator, Virginia Hotel, Lynchburg, Virginia," as a personal reference in connection with his enrolling as a law student at George Washington University in 1949. (100-366493-1)

In connection with the Internal Security - C investigation captioned "Religion-Education-Labor Management Fellowship Group" the Richmond Office advised that the Group reportedly was a "very loose one" and that it consisted of men and women from churches, organized labor, education, management and other fields. The Group's purpose was to promote better understanding through informal and free discussion. According to Reverend Russell Stroup, the Group was organized in 1949

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as a result of efforts of local leaders of the CIO and Lynchburg ministers. Reverend Stroup stated that Dr. Ben Siegel, Educational Director of the CIO, was one of the persons who was striving to maintain the group. Reverend Stroup opined that Siegel was mainly interested in the Group so that he could report to the CIO that he was conducting educational forums in the Lynchburg area. He did not consider the Group as subversive. (100-368784-4) (J) (See page 14 for Observations on Identity)

In connection with the above matter, the Richmond Office advised in May, 1951, that the manager of the Lynchburg Social Security Office had opined that Ben Segal, formerly CIO Educational Director at Lynchburg, was the "sparkplug" in getting the Group started. Boyd Payton, Regional Director of the South for the Textile Union of America, CIO, and subject of a security matter case, advised in 1951 that he (Payton) and Ben Segal had been instrumental in organizing the Group in Lynchburg. Payton said they felt it would be a good means of bringing to the attention of local ministers and educators the problems of labor. Payton stated that he had not noticed any indication of subversive infiltration of the Group. (100-368784-4, 6)

(1) It is noted that captioned individual is a member of the National Executive Board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation (NRLF). The New Haven Office advised in April, 1951, that NRLF was founded in 1932 by Jerome Davis, then a professor at Yale, who was described by Louis Budenz as a member of the Communist Party during the 1930's. Davis was succeeded as Executive Secretary of the NRLF in 1933 by Willard Uphaus, who has been described as a Communist sympathizer and pro-Russian. Reportedly, in 1951, the only paid member of the NRLF aside from Uphaus was Witherspoon Dodge, who has been described as pro-Russian in his views. According to the New Haven Office, the letterhead of the NRLF in February, 1951, reflected that a Ben Segal was a member of the General Executive Board of the NRLF. (100-168327-9)

In May, 1951, the Washington Field Office advised that Dr. Ben Segal of 99 University Place, New York, was a member of the General Executive Board of the NRLF and that one Ben Segal had made a reservation at the Burlington Hotel in Washington for a luncheon meeting of the Religion and Labor Council (name by which NRLF also is known) for April, 1951. The Washington Field Office further reported in May, 1951, that the NRLF described itself as being dedicated to an attempt to

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bring religion and labor together, but informants had advised that its central theme had varied from Socialist to the radical Socialist viewpoint and that evidences of the Communist Party line had appeared in the NRLF's publication, "Economic Justice," in recent months. (100-168327-15) (k) (See page 14 for Observations on Identity)

In connection with the Internal Security - C investigation of Communist infiltration of the CIO Maritime Committee, a technical surveillance in Washington, D. C., and New York disclosed references to the name Ben Segal in connection with telephone calls at the union. These references to the name of Ben Segal were noted in January, 1942; March, 1943; July, 1943; August, 1943; May, 1945; June, 1945, and July, 1945. One of these references relates to an invitation which was extended to Ben Segal on June 19, 1945, to attend the (Harry) Bridges Victory Party. Reportedly, Segal also was told to ask all other CIO members and any friendly AFL men to attend the party. (100-203268-751) (L) (See page 14 for Observations on Identity)

The "New York Times" of February 7, 1948, contains an article relating that Lee Pressman had resigned as General Counsel of the CIO and the United Steel Workers in a disagreement over fundamental CIO policy relating to the candidacy of Henry Wallace for President. The article stated that Ben Segal, "who represents several CIO unions," was among those mentioned in labor circles as a successor to Pressman. (100-11820-A) (M) (See page 14 for Observations on Identity)

The New York Office advised in January, 1952, that Ben Segal of the Textile Workers Union of America, 99 University Place, New York City, was listed among the subscribers to the publication "Alternative." "Alternative" is published by the Committee for Non-Violent Revolution. This publication has contained material opposing military conscription, criticizing treatment of Negroes in the armed forces, and the like. (14-2771-160) (N) (See page 14 for Observations on Identity)

The Washington Field Office reported that Ben Segal of the District of Columbia Industrial Union Council, CIO, was reported to have spoken against the segregation policy at a public hearing in October, 1952, relating to the D. C. recreation system. (100-135-53-275) (O) (See page 14 for Observations on Identity)

(It will be noted that the available background information on captioned Ben Segal is sufficient to positively identify him with some of the above references. In other instances, however, data in the file references, together with the available descriptive data on captioned individual, was sufficient to indicate only the possibility of being identical.)

June 29, 1955

Observations on Identity

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- A. It is believed that the data on Pages 4 and 5 of this memorandum concerning the Ben Segal who was in Mexico and subsequently was in a Civilian Public Service Camp in World War II may relate to captioned Ben Segal for the following reasons:

1. Captioned Ben Segal was approximately 25 years old when Pearl Harbor was bombed; yet, the biographical data concerning him in "Labor's Daily" makes no mention of his having served in the Armed Forces.

The Ben Segal in Mexico was a Pacifist who was a conscientious objector and was placed in a Civilian Public Service Camp on his return from Mexico.

2. Captioned Ben Segal is described in "Labor's Daily" as having been a "Midwest organizer for the AFL Ladies Garment Workers."

When the Ben Segal who was in Mexico returned to the United States, he worked for a period of months in Michigan as a Regional Labor Organizer with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

3. The Ben Segal who was in Mexico stayed at a camp at which discussions were held on topics dealing with discrimination; and captioned Ben Segal is described in "Labor's Daily" as having an extensive background in the field of civil liberties and as having directed the Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia.

- B. It is believed the Ben Segal mentioned in the "Daily Worker" of August 16, 1937, probably is identical with the Ben Segal who was in Mexico. Available background data on the Ben Segal who was in Mexico reflects that he lived in Chicago and was very active in radical youth activities. Reasons for believing that the captioned Ben Segal may be identical with the Ben Segal in Mexico have been listed in part "A" above.
- C. On pages 6 and 7 there are listed several references to a Ben Segal of the Post War World Council and 740 Rush Street in Chicago. These show that this Ben Segal was interested in fair employment practices, the Socialist Party and racial matters and that he was believed to have been assigned to a Civilian Public Service Camp. On the basis on this data, it is believed he ~~probably~~ is identical with the Ben Segal who was in Mexico. Reasons for believing the Ben Segal who was in Mexico may be identical with captioned Ben Segal have been listed in part "A" above.

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- D. The Ben Segal of the Committee of Racial Equality in Chicago was a member of an organization dedicated to eliminating racial discrimination. Captioned Ben Segal has been described as having formerly been director of the Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia and as having an extensive background in the field of civil liberties. Therefore, it is felt captioned Ben Segal may be identical with the Ben Segal of the Committee of Racial Equality in Chicago.

Additionally, the Ben Segal of this Committee in Chicago reputedly was a Socialist Party Member. The Ben Segal in Mexico also had Socialist inclinations and reportedly was interested in racial matters. Reasons for believing the Ben Segal who was in Mexico may be identical with captioned individual have been set forth in part "A" above.

- E. It is believed that the Ben Segal who pleaded in Philadelphia for support of a bill relating to fair employment practices may be identical with captioned Ben Segal because captioned Ben Segal formerly was director of the Council of Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia.
- F. It is believed that the Ben Segal who was chairman of the meeting in Philadelphia at which a representative of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union spoke is identical with captioned Ben Segal because captioned Ben Segal is known to have been in Philadelphia and to have been associated with the "AFL Ladies Garment Workers."
- G. On Pages 8 and 9 there are references to a Ben Segal of Philadelphia, described as being a Socialist Party organizer, who attended in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a meeting of the Bi-Partisan Committee for a Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practices Committee in 1945. It is believed this Ben Segal may be identical with captioned Ben Segal because captioned Segal is known to have been in Philadelphia and to have worked for equal job opportunities there.

(On pages 8 and 9, there is data relating to a Ben Segal of the Bi-Partisan Committee for a Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practices Committee which describes him as a "known member of the Communist Party." This indicates a possibility that two men named Ben Segal were affiliated with the Bi-Partisan Committee since it is doubtful that the same Ben Segal could be a Socialist Party organizer and a known member of the Communist Party at the same time.)

- H. It is noted that Ben Segal, organizer of the Socialist Party, attended a Socialist Party Labor Branch meeting in Philadelphia in 1945. This Ben Segal is believed possibly identical with captioned Ben Segal because captioned Segal is known to have been in Philadelphia and to have been interested in labor matters.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

June 29, 1955

- *
- CONFIDENTIAL**
- I. The references on pages 8 and 9 to Ben Segal of the Council for Equal Job Opportunities doubtless are identical with captioned Ben Segal since captioned Segal is described in "Labor's Daily" as having formerly been director of the Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia.
 - J. It is believed that the references on pages 9 and 10 to the Ben Segal who was an Educational Director for the CIO are identical with captioned since captioned Segal is described in "Labor's Daily" as having been associate director of the CIO department of education.
 - K. It is believed the data on pages 10 and 11 concerning Ben Segal of the National Religion and Labor Foundation undoubtedly is identical with captioned Ben Segal since captioned Segal is described in "Labor's Daily" as a member of the National Executive Board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.
 - L. It is felt that the references to Ben Segal which were disclosed through technical surveillances of the CIO Maritime Committee in 1943-45 may possibly be identical with captioned Ben Segal since captioned Ben Segal is known to have been associated with the CIO.
 - M. It is felt that the Ben Segal who was mentioned as a possible successor to Lee Pressman may be identical with captioned Ben Segal since captioned Ben Segal is a labor consultant and has been associated with the CIO.
 - N. It is felt that Ben Segal of the Textile Workers Union of America probably is identical with captioned Ben Segal because "Labor's Daily" describes captioned Segal as having organized in the South for the CIO Textile Workers. (It is interesting to note that this Ben Segal's name appeared on a list of subscribers to a publication which has contained material opposing military conscription, criticizing treatment of Negroes in the Armed Forces and the like. The Ben Segal who was in Mexico--see part "A" above--was a conscientious objector.)
 - O. It is felt that the Ben Segal who spoke against segregation at a hearing concerning the District of Columbia recreation system in 1952 probably is identical with captioned Ben Segal since captioned Segal is a Washington, D. C., representative of the Fund for the Republic and has expressed interest in civil liberties and fair employment matters.
- *
- The reference on page 8 to Ben Segal's being Chairman of the Council for Equal Job Opportunities describes Segal as a former organizer for the Socialist Party. This reference, in particular, strengthens the possibility that references to Ben Segal in Mexico, Chicago and Philadelphia relate to one person, that person being captioned individual.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
RECORDS SECTION

6-27, 195

☐ Name Check Unit-Room 6523
☐ Attention _____
☐ Service Unit-Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☒ Return to Peet Ext. _____
 Supervisor _____
 Room 4234

☒ All References
☐ Subversive References
☐ Main References Only
☐ Main _____ Differences Only
☐ Restrict to Locality of _____
☐ Breakdown ☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☐ Exact Name Only
☐ Exact Spelling
☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form

SUBJECT BEN SEGAL
 Address 139 W. 4th - President DC -
California (with AFL + CIO)
 Localities _____
 Birthdate & Place _____

R# _____ Date 6-27 Searcher Initial RVO

	FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
<u>NI</u>	<u>62-22208</u>	
<u>NI</u>	<u>100-33905</u>	
<u>NI</u>	<u>25-44891</u>	
	<u>5-16142</u>	
<u>NI</u>	<u>100-336325</u>	
<u>NI</u>	<u>100-310998</u>	
<u>NI</u>	<u>100-6047</u>	
<u>NI</u>	<u>100-396006</u>	
	<u>100-168327</u>	
	<u>15</u>	
<u>NI</u>	<u>100-57453-575</u>	<u>p. 59, 19</u>
	<u>100-135-53-275</u>	<u>p. 14</u>

Whitten

2

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ben Segal

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

	100-168327-11, p. 29
	100-366493-1
L	turn 101-2261-81, p. 24
NI	100-341632-40, p. 9
NI	100-3-4-6427
NI	121-11372-35
NI	100-359683-1
NI	100-57453-542, p. 32, 33, 45
	100-35543-111, p. 2, 3, 4
NI	65-44458-40, Encl.
	p. 9
NI	100-364143-7
	100-11820-A New York
	Times 2-7-48
	61-826-283
	61-3415-136
	214

~~NI 61-6890-1~~

✓ ~~L inf 61-7559-6741~~

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Whitten

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100-3- (2)

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3

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ben Sagel

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Searcher _____

R# _____ Date _____ Initial _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

UI ~~100-341652-117~~

100-7660-3933

~~25-88002-1~~

NI ~~25-181883-7~~

NI ~~9~~

NI ~~11~~

NI ~~65-7240-5~~

NI ~~100-341652-238~~

NI ~~208~~

NI ~~105-25436-11 p. 9, 11, 14~~

~~16-19~~

~~100-9749-378~~

~~100-344664-6 p. 2~~

~~1 p. 29, 31, 35~~

~~3 p. 23, 5~~

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~~100-7660-3477~~

~~61-10439-68 p. 20~~

NI ~~88-2257-80 p. 9, 43~~

~~100-7660-3793~~

(3)

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5

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ben Segal

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Searcher _____

R# _____ Date _____ Initial _____

FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

NA	100-1913-178
	14-2771-160 p. 148
	100-232275-8
	100-273014-8
	100-7660-3773 p. 5
NI	62-75147-43-111
NI	60-1501-1710
NI	1572X
NI	2008
	2162
NI	60-1501-7-5X
	100-168321-60
	100-11392-35
NI	100-13772-16
NI	21
NI	100-15985-18
NI	100-17826-316
NI	384

100-25701-3

L. Coleman 100-28282-16

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6

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ben Segal

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Searcher _____

R# _____ Date _____ Initial _____

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NT ~~62-38824-690~~

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~~2382~~

~~6148~~

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~~3879~~

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NI ~~62-64858-4~~

NI ~~94~~

NT ~~62-75447-43-27, 28~~

NI 59

NI 321p6

NT ~~62-78848-43-2~~

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NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ben Segal

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

FILE NUMBER

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100-34433-41	
100-45143-1	
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100-41852-226	
100-54676-1	
100-86618-1	
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100-95014-372	
100-120818-486	
64-2700-1421	
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✓ 64-2700-C ~~50~~
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Walter

(6)

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ben Segal

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Searcher _____

R# _____ Date 6-27 Initial 19

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SERIAL

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	398, P# 25,
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	100-165165-7
NI	100-202534-111
	100-203208-72
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	100-135-21-18
NI	88-2357-95
NI	100-354317-211, Encl. P# 46
	17, 18, 20
not located	<u>62-91933-786, Encl. P# 5</u>

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SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ben Segal

Supervisor _____ Room _____

Searcher _____

R# _____ Date 6-27 Initial JSFILE NUMBERSERIAL

NI	88-2357-123
NI	100-1-9566
	100-2-1438
	100-3-1-214
	100-3-14-1928
	100-3-21-234
	255
NI	62-98784-81X, Q#23
NI	100-3-39-37
	100-3-65-8
	100-6007-7
	100-7660-2953
	3148
	2910
	100-368784-6
	4

written

(8)

NUMEROUS REFERENCE

4-22a

SEARCH SLIP

Subj: Ben Segal

Supervisor _____ Room _____

R# _____ Date _____ Searcher Initial _____

FILE NUMBER	SERIAL
64-2700-D-123	123
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	125
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	127
	128
	148
	150
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	152
✓	153
64-2704-605	
64-2705-89	
64-25540-1	

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(9)

**The Fund for the Republic and
Political Propaganda**

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF**

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 14, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in recent days there has been evidence of a renewed attack on philanthropic institutions such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Fund for the Republic. The purpose of these attacks seems to be twofold: To destroy public confidence in these organizations and to set the stage for an attack on certain tax benefits which such organizations enjoy. These groups are accused of advocating "communist or socialistic" ideas and practices and of attempting to subvert "the American way of life." I for one feel these accusations to be grossly unfair and untrue. It seems evident to me that these foundations have been supporting some of the most worthwhile projects being undertaken in America today. All Members of Congress recently received the annual report of the Ford Foundation. If one takes the trouble merely to read over the table of contents in this volume it becomes obvious how many and how varied these undertakings are. It is also evident that the activities presented in brief form in the report are of a most worthwhile character and when completed will do much to increase our understanding of both ourselves and of other nations.

One of the most recent attacks has been on the Fund for the Republic. This organization has been engaged in studies concerned most especially with the status of civil liberties in the United States today. It has recently issued a study entitled "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties." This book is but one example of the high caliber of the work being done by the fund. Surely such work should be given every encouragement and not subjected to back-door sniping, for if we are to fight communism effectively and at the same time preserve the liberties of which America is so justly proud, we must have as many facts as possible at our disposal. I recommend that my colleagues take time to study this volume both for the purpose of understanding the subject matter contained therein and to realize the type of worthwhile material being presented by our philanthropic foundations. In connection with the accusations being made against the Fund for the Republic, I commend to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in Labor's Daily on June 16, 1955. That the charge of communism being made against the fund is patently ridiculous, is made clear in this article. The fund, as such, takes no stand on any issue but merely is interested in a presentation of the facts. It relies on men of great competency in preparing its studies. For example, among the men making or helping in the studies is Daniel Bell, labor

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DATE 7-24-89 BY 888377

Received by Special Agent
7/27/55
mea

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CLOSURE

editor of *Fortune*, John Cogley, editor of the Catholic magazine *Commonweal*, and Clinton Rossiter of the department of government of Cornell University. Included on the board of directors of the fund are such men as Robert M. Hutchins, Paul Hoffman, Chester Bowles, Erwin N. Griswold, Elmo Roper, and James D. Zellerbach. Certainly these men cannot be accused of the taint of communism, nor of having anything but the best interests of the United States in mind when they agreed to become associated with the Fund for the Republic.

The article follows:

FUND FOR REPUBLIC CONCERNED WITH
DEFENDING CIVIL LIBERTIES

(By G. B. Holcomb)

Political columnist George Sokolsky wrote in his nationally-syndicated daily column last week a story which left two impressions:

That the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic which it sponsors are at odds with each other; and

That the Fund for the Republic is conducting "political propaganda" on behalf of communism.

Those impressions (whether intentionally promoted by Sokolsky or not) aren't correct, according to Ben Segal, labor consultant and the fund's representative in Washington.

The Ford Foundation set up the \$15 million Fund for the Republic as a separate entity (with main offices in New York), but that doesn't mean they aren't speaking to each other.

Sokolsky wrote that the fund "has teams all over the country ostensibly investigating Communists, but actually seeking to discover what active anti-Communists have been doing."

As a matter of record, the fund is openly trying to find out what is being done to Communists, Socialists, atheists, fascists, Trotskyists, race bigots, security risks, fifth amendment Communists, etc., Segal said, in order to get a real picture of the effects on civil liberties in this country.

It has published a book on Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, which describes some of its findings.

It has published another book, called a Bibliography on Communism, containing a list of authoritative documents on the Communist ideology and political organization.

RECORD OF COMMUNISM

A Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States, 753 pages thick and with pages as large as those of *Fortune* magazine, has been published by the fund.

These studies deal, Segal said, with the impact of communism on America today.

Daniel Bell, labor editor of *Fortune*, heads a division of this vast study which deals with the impact of communism on the trade union movement.

Other studies will deal with student organizations, veterans, educational welfare, old-age pension, business, and other groups.

John Cogley, editor of the Catholic magazine *Commonweal*, heads the study on the effects of blacklisting in the entertainment field.

The whole impact study is under direction of Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University's government department.

Rossiter, the Reverend Joseph M. Snee, S. J., professor of law at Georgetown University, and Prof. Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard law school, edited the Digest.

These men, like the members of the fund's board of directors, are interested only in arriving at the facts about communism and avoiding the ignorance which, all too often, helps shape public attitudes.

IGNORANCE IS DANGEROUS

Board members are:

Robert M. Hutchins, president; Paul G. Hoffman, chairman; W. H. Ferry, vice president; David F. Freeman, secretary; Bethuel M. Webster, counsel; Meyer Kestnbaum, M. Albert Linton, John Lord O'Brian (80, and called by *Life* magazine one of America's elder statesmen of the law), Chester Bowles, Charles W. Cole, Russell L. Dearmont, Erwin N. Griswold, William H. Joyce, Jr., Jubel R. Parten, Elmo Roper, Robert E. Sherwood, George N. Shuster, Eleanor B. Stevenson and James D. Zellerbach.

The former president of Columbia University is quoted in the frontispiece of the Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States. He said:

"The truth about communism is, today, an indispensable requirement if the true values of our democratic system are to be properly assessed. Ignorance of communism, fascism or any other police-state philosophy is far more dangerous than ignorance of the most virulent disease."

The author of these lines is Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"A sort of slogan for the fund," Segal told us, "is 'Feel Free' which I guess would mean to look any controversial issue squarely in the face."

"It is a tragedy today that too many people fear to speak up on issues if perchance the Communists are making or have made noise about it."

"By this time," Segal added, "everyone should know Communists have never been sincere about causes they espouse, except that of furthering the interests of the Soviet Union. It is the issues which are important, not who makes the noise."

"We have to be careful not to use the same tactics used by the Communists."

STIMULATES DISCUSSION

These are Segal's views, and not necessarily those of the fund. The fund, as such, has no views, unless it might be said to be in favor of the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The fund "tries to avoid taking a position." It seeks, instead, to stimulate others to discussion, or argument, or dissension (depending on the point of view).

A long-time project is to determine what union members think about such controversial questions as, "Should an admitted Communist be expelled from the union?" and "Should a man who favors Government ownership of the railroads be expelled from the union?"

Segal was asked his own opinion on the first question.

"In a sensitive job, both the Government and the union have an obligation to see that the security of the country isn't endangered," he said. "But when it comes to other areas, union members ought to think pretty carefully before they conduct activities which would deprive a man of the right to earn a living. That is the acid test."

SEGAL'S BACKGROUND

He drew a clear distinction between a professed Communist and suspects or persons who might exercise his constitutional right to plead the fifth amendment.

As example of a situation he fears, he related, was a Florida union which expelled a man who had pleaded the fifth amendment before a congressional committee. The company wouldn't fire him, but the members made his job so miserable that he quit.

Although he's not quite 39, Segal has an extensive background in the field of labor and civil liberties.

His previous job was as associate director of the CIO department of education. Last year he was one of two senior Fulbright scholars on workers' education in England, where he studied British trade unions. Segal taught and visited in Norway, Denmark,

Sweden (for the International Labor Organization), Austria, Yugoslavia, and Israel.

For 5 years he organized in the South for the CIO Textile Workers, was a Midwest organizer for the AFL Ladies Garment Workers; directed the Council for Equal Job Opportunities in Philadelphia, and served as president of local 189 of the AFL Federation of Teachers.

He now is on the local's executive board and is a member of the national executive board of the National Religion and Labor Foundation.

Segal met his wife, Elizabeth, in North Carolina. "That was one of my southern victories," he chuckled. They have a 22-months-old daughter, Doris Marie.

SEGAL ENCOURAGED

Segal, a pipe-smoking and scholarly appearing man with thinning brown hair, says he is encouraged by the interest shown in the increasingly complex problem of loyalty and security programs being run by both the Government and private industry.

He's becoming a major source of material on the subject, yet has no secretarial staff on hand to assist him. He's trying to keep the paperwork bureaucracy out of his job if he can. But it's a struggle when various groups call him and ask for 3 copies of this report or 25 of that study.

Segal likes his job, is constantly busy, and he believes in it, Sokolsky or no Sokolsky.

100-391697-124, 125, 126,
CHANGED TO
100-418797-37, 38, 39, *

NOV 3 - 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-88 BY 2088BJ/af

9
147

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 7-6-55

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 208013/ap

Original filed in:

Pages A4378- Congressman Jackson, (R) California, extended his remarks
A4379 to include an article from the Los Angeles Herald and
Express of June 8, 1955, entitled "The Fund for the Republic"
written by Mr. George E. Sokolsky. The reference to the
Bureau, contained in the article, was set forth in a
memorandum written earlier today.

INDEXED - 40

100-37114-127
NOT RECORDED
136 JUL 29 1955

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for *Thursday, 7-5-55* was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 7/20/55

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Page X5261 Congressman Jackson, (R) California, extended his remarks to include two items from the Tablet of July 9 and 12, 1955, entitled "Abetting Disloyalty" and "Foundations Are Asked to Aid Senate Inquiry." The reference to the FBI was set forth in a memorandum written earlier this date.

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DATE 7-23-89 BY 208123/af

Original filed in: 66-1731

INDEXED - 1

100-391617-128
NOT RECORDED
76 JUL 29 1955

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7/10/55 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

30 AUG 9 1955

100-391697- 129
CHANGED TO
100-418797- 40

NOV 3 - 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-25-89 BY 8157 JAG

RECEIVED

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: 7/22/55

FROM : J. P. Mohr

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

Pages 9692-9696 - Congressman Beece, (R) Tennessee, spoke concerning the entry of the Ford Fund for the Republic into the field of civil liberties. This matter was brought to your attention in a memorandum prepared earlier today inasmuch as it contained references to the Bureau.

Original filed in: 66-14751-

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 888073/afg

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
76 AUG 11 1955

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 7/14/55 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

71 AUG 12 1955

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FBI, SAN FRANCISCO (105- 7/29/55 AIRTEL

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

DIRECTOR, FBI

STUDY OF GOVERNMENT SECURITY PROGRAM
BY ~~X~~ STANFORD LAW REVIEW
Stanford, California
IS - X

ROBERT C. LOVE, former SA, presently Security Officer, Eitel-McCullough, electronic tube manufacturing concern, San Bruno, Calif., advised on 7/25/55 he had received a letter dated 7/14/55 from CARL B. SPAETH, Dean, School of Law, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif., as follows:

"The Stanford Law Review is making a study of the operation of the Government's security program insofar as it requires that Government contractors and their employees be cleared when their work involves access to classified information. In gathering information for the article, the authors will need to rely not only on the traditional type of legal research but also on field work which will give them the benefit of the experience of contractors operating under security requirements. They hope to learn how effective and practical the contractors consider the present system to be, and what difficulties have been encountered under it.

"I would be very pleased if the authors could meet with the person in your company who is best fitted to discuss these matters with them. MR. ROBERT HERZSTEIN of the law school will call in a few days to arrange a time for the interview."

LOVE has advised he will keep this office posted as to any contacts relative to the above matter, and the Bureau will be advised.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

AM REG

FRE:gtb

DATE 7.25.89 BY 2025/ST/

Mr. Belmont

OCT 18 1955 (Camp)

Approved: WRT

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

sec

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

10-1

Burns

RECORDED-38

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39764

EX-1805

100-391697-129X

64 AUG 19 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *AB*

FROM : R. R. ROACH *RR*

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

DATE: August 11, 1955

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The July 18, 1955, weekly bulletin of "Feature Press Service," published by the American Civil Liberties Union, reported that the Fund for the Republic, Inc. has appropriated \$100,000 to establish a Commission on Race and Housing. This Commission will conduct a nation-wide survey of the housing of minority groups; will study the difficulties of all minority groups in obtaining adequate private and public housing, with particular attention to problems of Negroes in large metropolitan areas; and make recommendations to the public based on its findings.

The article stated that the Commission is made up of 17 businessmen and educators who, with the exception of its chairman, were not identified. The Commission Chairman is Earl B. Schwulst, President and Chairman of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York City. Schwulst has not been the subject of Bureau investigation and a review of our files reveals no derogatory information concerning him. In March, 1950, he communicated with the Bureau concerning the participation of our New York Office in the 1950 Campaign of the Greater New York Fund, comparable to Washington's Community Chest, of which he was President. (94-1-6949-7)

RECOMMENDATION:

For your information.

100-391697

EFT:mer

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- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Internal Security
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 -

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b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

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DATE 1-25-89 BY *SP8 GJ/ag*

RECORDED

100-391697-130

16 AUG 15 1955

71 AUG 18 1955

Liaison

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b7C

Subj: Schulst, Earl B. b7C

Supervisor

Room 7633

R#

Date _____

Searcher

Initial

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FILE NUMBER

SERIAL

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~~6-2~~ E.B.

NP

62-53025 - 210X

NP

62-54309-147

all other breakdowns NR

Commission on Race

9 Housing

NA

Earl Bryan Schwalst

"Who's Who in America"

1954-55 P. 2380

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED~~

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-25-89 BY SP8 JSJ/4

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

40252

August 17, 1955

MEMORANDUM TO: MR. J. EDGAR HOOVER

Handwritten: [Signature]
Handwritten: [Signature]
Handwritten: [Signature]

The enclosed editorial appeared in the NEW YORK DAILY NEWS of August 16th.

V.E.

(Victor Emanuel)

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Excerpt from editorial - DAILY NEWS - Aug. 18, 1955

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

QUIES CUSTODIET CUSTODES?

That spread old Latin crack means "who will watch the watchers?" It seems to us to fit a report just gotten out by the Fund for the Republic.

The FRF is a well-heeled off-shoot of the Ford Foundation, and is headed by onetime wonder boy Robert M. Hutchins. It's supposed to stand watch over U.S. civil liberties.

This report we're speaking of concerns 50 selected cases of Federal Government employees who ran into inquiries on their loyalty, and the strange and sometimes tragic experiences they had.

From the report, innocent people will be likely to infer that the Government's whole security and loyalty checkup program is rotten and had better be scrapped or seriously weakened. That is just what the domestic Reds and their fellow travelers want all of us to believe.

You can take 50 selected cases from the history of almost any institution, program or organization and make it look bad. The method is unscientific and lopsided and loaded for propaganda; and so is this FRF report.

Far be it from us to accuse Dr. Hutchins of knowingly playing Moscow's game against the U.S. security setup. But really, hadn't the Ford Foundation better put a watcher over its watcher of civil liberties, lest he go 100% haywire? If this tax-free foundation won't do that, how about some Congressional action?

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DATE 7-25-89 BY 2081573/000

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: August 15, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: W. H. FERRY
VICE PRESIDENT
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

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Irving Ferman, the Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, has been suspicious for sometime of the activities of the Fund for the Republic and he feels that their activities more closely proximate an action organization rather than a so-called foundation engaged in service activities. It has been ascertained that Ferry actually is running the Fund for the Republic while the President, Robert M. Hutchins, is going around the country making speeches. Ferman called me from New York on the afternoon of August 15, 1955, to advise that he had had lunch with Ferry and there were a few items which he thought would be of interest to us. He stated the Fund for the Republic would announce shortly that Stanford University Law School, under the direction of Dean Spath, would undertake an investigation of ten leading witnesses who have appeared on behalf of the Government in Communist cases before Congressional committees. Ferman stated that, of course, they were not going into the Matusow case but were going to concentrate on Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, Paul Crouch, and Manny Johnson. These were the only specific witnesses which he mentioned.

Ferman was also inquiring about other projects and Ferry told Ferman the Fund for the Republic was going to have an investigation made of the FBI and they were now looking around for someone to undertake this investigation. He was not specific as to in what area the investigation would center but did state that he would like to have a good Catholic law school undertake such an investigation. In addition, Ferry told Ferman that the Fund for the Republic was also going to have an investigation made into the activities of the American Legion and made the point that investigations in the controversial fields would be undertaken by colleges or universities.

Ferman stated that he got the very definite impression that Ferry feels that he has the power politically to undertake these investigations and Ferman is becoming more and more convinced that the Fund for the Republic has contact with some of the capable "left wingers."

LBN:gjm
(4)

CC - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

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Mr. Tolson

August 15, 1955

Ferman attended Harvard Law School and has been a close friend of Dean Griswold, whom he characterized as a one-time very conservative person but he cannot possibly understand Griswold's activities in recent years.

Memorandum to Boardman

9/1/55
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I advised the Director of the foregoing. The Director instructed that there be prepared a comprehensive memorandum on the Fund for the Republic with background data on its principal officers, that it be kept up to date at all times as events might necessitate the use of such a memorandum on very little notice. The Director further inquired whether we had a summary on Ferry and I told the Director that our information on Ferry was very meager. The Director instructed that a discreet check be made on Ferry in order that we might have good background material. Ferry at one time was connected with the CIO-PAC. His father is Chairman of the Board of the Packard Motor Company and we do have a few other minor bits of information on Ferry in our files. The thought occurs that it might be a good idea to check through the various Congressional hearings which went into the CIO-PAC a few years ago and check newspaper morgues and perhaps the Library of Congress for public source material as well as make discreet inquiries wherever they are indicated.

AC NY
cc to WFO
by Detroit
8/19/55
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1 - yellows
1 - cc-100-391697
1 - Internal Security Sec.
1 - sect. tick.
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SAC, New York

August 23, 1955

Director, FBI

* (only if discretion possible)

WILBUR HUGH FERRY
aka "PING" FERRY

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York
1444 Wentworth Avenue, Pasadena, California
INFORMATION CONCERNING

You are instructed to make very discreet inquiries concerning the captioned individual, vice-president of the Fund for the Republic, in order that the Bureau may have complete background material on him. Offices receiving copies of this letter should check their files and newspaper morgues*for material concerning Ferry as well as other similar sources which may be checked discreetly. In addition, the Washington Field Office should check the Congressional hearings regarding the CIO-Political Action Committee (PAC) held a few years ago and the Library of Congress for any information concerning Ferry. Results of these inquiries should reach the Bureau, attention Liaison Section, not later than Friday, August 26, 1955.

Background information concerning Ferry as reflected in Bufiles is set forth below:

The 8/30/54 issue of "Time" magazine on page 40 states that Ferry, 43, was named in August, 1954, by Robert M. Hutchins, Fund president, to fill the newly created position of Fund vice-president and is stationed at the Fund's Manhattan office. Ferry was described as a former teacher and newsmen who worked with the International Labor Organization, Office of Price Administration, and the CIO-PAC during New Deal days. In 1945 he joined the Earl Newsum Company, public relations firm, 597 Madison Avenue, New York City, where his duties included writing speeches for Henry Ford II and doing "think work" for the Ford Foundation. Ferry was still employed by the Earl Newsum Company in 1951, at which time his home address was 34 Home Place, Bronxville, New York. The 1955 Westchester telephone directory lists Wilbur H. Ferry at Central Drive, Bronxville, New York. Ferry is the son of Hugh J. Ferry, president, treasurer, and director of the Packard Motor Car Company, Detroit, Michigan, who was a Special Service Contact of the Detroit Office from December, 1950, until December 15, 1951. He resides at 344 Neff Road, Grosse Pointe, Michigan. (100-391697-102; 123-11699-10; 67-460065)

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1 - SAC, Washington Field

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Letter to SAC, New York

New York letters dated 11/15/44 and 2/12/45 and report of SA James P. O'Neill dated 4/9/45 at New York City, regarding the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC) reflect that informant advised on 11/6/44 that Sam Moscovitz, publicity director for the JAFRC, had contacted Ferry, publicity director of the CIU-PAC, in an effort to have Ferry obtain a dinner speaker for them. On 2/10/45 this informant advised that Ferry was very close to the national officers of the JAFRC and was a member of the Advisory Committee of publicity men who had met with officials of the JAFRC to assist in their mapping out a national fund-raising campaign at that time. The JAFRC has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

(NYT 221; 100-7061-710, 852,
923 pgs. 15,18)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: August 23, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST, 7:00 PM,
AUGUST 23, 1955ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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About half of Fulton Lewis, Jr.'s, broadcast of this date dealt with the current flood damage and the proposed relief action by President Eisenhower.

Lewis then stated that his initial report of the grant to Beland Stanford University of the previous evening had apparently stirred up quite some concern at that University. Lewis claims that the \$15,000,000 fund of the Ford Foundation really belongs to the people and, as such, is of interest to the general public.

The Fund for the Republic is enjoying tax exemption, and, although it has been in existence nearly three years, its first report has just been issued. Lewis described the Fund for the Republic as being for the program of the Americans for Democratic Action and that it is fighting the security program of the Government, fighting congressional investigations against Communists and the methods of Communist infiltration in the Government and fighting to discredit former Communists who have testified on behalf of the Government.

The funds for the Fund for the Republic were received from the Ford Foundation. The Fund for the Republic was described as originally the brain child of Paul Hoffman and was set up to provide a spot for him at \$75,000 per year. He had this position until he returned to his employment in the automobile industry. Hoffman's successor was former Senator Clifford Case whom Lewis described as closely affiliated with "left wingers." Case's successor is Robert M. La Follette, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago.

The grant provides for study of Communists who have cooperated with the Government, such as Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, et al. The study is to be directed by Herbert Facker who will join the Stanford University faculty and is presently employed by the Fund for the Republic in Washington, D. C. Lewis stated that on August 24 he would understand report of what sort of studies these are to be.

For information.

NOT RECORDED SEP 8 1955
128 SEP 19 1955

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: August 24, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY SP3 B. J. B. / J. H. B. / J. H. B.SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST, 7:00 PM
AUGUST 24, 1955

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Lewis continued his discussion of the Fund for the Republic and stated that on the date of his broadcast he had gone to the Fund's headquarters in New York at 60 East 42nd Street to pick up literature including the first annual report. While he was there, he was called into the office and talked with Mr. W. H. Ferry (phonetic), Vice President of the Fund for the Republic, and David F. Freeman, Secretary-Treasurer. During their discussion, an unidentified woman made a transcript in shorthand.

Lewis stated that Ferry was vigorous in his criticism of Lewis' broadcast of August 23 and questioned his integrity and honesty. Ferry allegedly stated he didn't know why Lewis would be interested in the annual report since the document contains facts, and Lewis is not interested in facts.

Lewis stated that he was advised by Ferry that he, Lewis, had made a false statement about Paul Hoffman being President when, in effect, Hoffman had been Chairman of the Board of Directors. Lewis stated he was advised that Hoffman will receive a salary in this position of \$3000 a year. Lewis also stated that he was advised that Senator Clifford Case had been President of the Fund from May, 1953, to April, 1954, when he was succeeded by Dr. Robert Hutchins, formerly of the University of Chicago. Lewis stated that Ferry and Freeman would not give him the salary of the President and stated that this was a personal matter. Lewis countered by insisting that the \$15,000,000 grant from the Ford Foundation was actually the property of the general public and that it was the public's business to know how this money is being spent. Lewis pointed out that if they didn't care to tell him the salary he was certain that he could find out in other ways. Lewis stated that he also had learned that the annual salary for the President was not \$75,000 as he had reported the previous evening but was about \$40,000. Lewis also pointed out that the Fund money was tax free, and if it doesn't belong to the public shouldn't the Bureau of Internal Revenue cease to grant the Fund freedom from taxation. Lewis also advised that he had written a letter requesting a copy of the transcript of his interview with Ferry and Freeman.

cc - Mr. Belmont

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Jones to Nichols Memo

August 24, 1955

Lewis also discussed the grant of \$25,000 to the Leland Stanford Law School for the analysis of testimony of witnesses in proceedings relative to Communism. He again pointed out that this would undoubtedly include the analysis of such witnesses as Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, Paul Crouch and Whittaker Chambers. According to Lewis one thing that puzzled him is why such an analysis is even necessary.

He also stated that \$5000 had been set aside for a summer study of a civil liberties topic by Stanford University.

Lewis corrected a statement he had made the night before regarding the Fund having an office in Washington, D. C., and stated that no such office exists, but that Herbert Packer who is directing the study and had joined the Stanford University faculty has an Office in Washington, D. C. Lewis stated that Packer is one of four members of the Advisory Committee and has received approximately \$700 to date, in compiling stories of Government employees and their attorneys who have been involved in security cases. Lewis pointed out that the Government's side is not given.

According to Lewis, the big question that bothers him is why should Leland Stanford University allow outsiders to come in and make a study. He questioned as to why the Fund didn't do it itself and wondered whether or not it was window dressing. He also questioned the timing of Packer joining the Stanford faculty and wondered whether the University had sought out Packer to make the study or did they agree to accept him to make a survey. Lewis was also wondering who decided to approve the project at the University and stated that one member of the Board of Trustees said that the Board hadn't approved it.

According to Lewis, Freeman said all of the arrangements had been made with the Dean of Law, Dr. Carl Spaeth. According to Lewis, he had been trying to contact Dr. Spaeth during the day but had not been successful.

Lewis also stated that Ferry attempted to clear up the matter of why the first annual report was not made until 2½ years after the Fund's formation. According to Ferry, the annual report was made on the first anniversary of the date when Hutchins took over as President.

In closing his broadcast, Lewis made reference that State investigators in New York had revealed that a children's camp known as Kinderland had been teaching children dancing and music to the music of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Lewis stated, however, that the words which the children were taught were "Glory, Glory to the Rosenbergs— Their souls go marching on." Lewis pointed out that the camp officials have all taken the Fifth Amendment.

None. For information.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: August 25, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-24-89 BY 205801 JSUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST, 7:00 PM
AUGUST 25, 1955
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Fulton Lewis, Jr., on this broadcast stated: I reported to you last night on an interview with the Vice President of the Fund for the Republic, W. H. Ferry (ph) in New York City and of his belligerent attitude. I then went to Detroit from where Ferry comes. Ferry is the son of Hugh Ferry, Industrialist, a former President and Chairman of the Board of Packard Motor Company. After finishing college (not named) Ferry held jobs on several small insignificant newspapers (not named), and then he was a reporter on the "Detroit Times" in Detroit for two or three years. From there he went to a New York job with a public relations firm (not named) and during this period worked with the CIO Political Action Committee (PAC) under the late Sidney Hillman. Ferry was assigned to Henry Ford II as personal public relations man and in that connection had contact with Ford Foundation through which he got into Fund for the Republic which operates on a \$15,000,000 grab from the Ford Foundation. Neither Ford Motor Company nor Ford Foundation have any control over the Fund for the Republic. The \$15,000,000 was an outright grant and the Fund is completely autonomous. Ferry's general reputation is that he was a constant dissenter.

The background of CIO-PAC and Sidney Hillman is important because their approaches of that organization and individual are virtually identical with the Americans for Democratic Action. The two organizations are Siamese twins. Between them they have taken control of the Democratic Party as now constituted.

Lewis read from the first annual report of the Fund for the Republic which was made public and signed by Robert Hutchins, President. Under a heading, "Distribution of Books, Pamphlets and Other Material," the distribution of various books is listed including "Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist," special issue on loyalty and security. Twenty-five thousand copies were distributed to a list selected by the publisher. Lewis stated this publication's editor, policy head, J. Edgar Hoover, Oppenheimer, and this entire edition was devoted to a defense and glorification of Oppenheimer and a series of attacks on the Government's

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont

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Jones to Nichols Memorandum

August 25, 1955

loyalty and security program in general. Also listed was "Government By Investigation" by Allen Barth of which 850 copies were distributed to members of the Federal bench.

Lewis quoted from the body of Dr. Hutchins' report that the authority of the Post Office Department to interfere with freedom of expression is very great, and the Department of late has shown a disposition to exercise it. The Fund for the Republic believes an objective analysis of the powers and conduct of the Department with reference to freedom of expression is called for. The Fund has undertaken to finance a study of the subject. The allocation for the study is \$35,000.

RECOMMENDATION:

That a copy of the first annual report of the Fund for the Republic mentioned above which has been made public be obtained if this has not already been done.

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THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

August 26, 1955

DIRECTOR, FBI

U
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DECLASSIFIED BY 25857/af
ON 7-25-89

Reference is made to my memorandum of June 15, 1955, which furnished you a copy of a memorandum signed by W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund for the Republic, which reflects that the captioned organization had undertaken, as part of a study of the operation of the Government loyalty and security programs, to collect case histories of several hundred cases arising from the various Federal personnel security programs. According to Ferry's memorandum this case material is being prepared from information obtained through the lawyer who had advised or represented the employees involved in the proceeding. The Fund for the Republic was established by the Ford Foundation late in 1952 with a grant of \$15,000,000.

With reference to the above-mentioned study, an informant who has furnished this Bureau reliable information in the past reported that on August 8, 1955, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, he met Jack Sartisky, a District No. 5, Communist Party underground board member; Hymen Schlesinger, a Pittsburgh attorney who regularly represents Communist Party members; and an unidentified male, an attorney "representing the Ford Foundation," who was in Pittsburgh to gather facts and figures concerning the discharge of Government employees due to being security risks. The informant stated that the unidentified attorney indicated that such facts and figures as are gathered will be submitted to the United States Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights headed by Senator William Langer of North Dakota. This attorney also indicated that the Ford Foundation contemplates using \$2,000,000 in its fight for protection of constitutional rights. [redacted]

Jack Sartisky, who is also known as Jacques Sartisky, is the subject of a current security investigation, initiated by this Bureau in 1949, results of which have been furnished to the Department upon receipt. Reliable informants have reported that Sartisky has been active in the Communist Party from 1941 to date.

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SEE NOTE ON YELLOW ON PAGE TWO

CONFIDENTIAL

AUG 30 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum to the Attorney General

Investigation reflects that he has been active in the Civil Rights Congress, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the International Workers Order, the Pittsburgh Arts Club, and the Pittsburgh Chapter of the National Negro Labor Council, which organizations have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (100-201171-49)

Hymen Schlesinger is the subject of a security investigation, initiated by this Bureau in 1948, the results of which have been furnished to the Department upon receipt. Schlesinger has represented Communist Party members and District No. 5 of the Communist Party in legal matters from 1940 to date and has rendered legal service to members of the Socialist Workers Party, Civil Rights Congress, and American Slav Congress, which organizations have been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. On November 10, 1953, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in testimony at a public hearing of a Task Force of the United States Senate Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws (Committee on the Judiciary), Matthew Cusick, a former member of District No. 5, Communist Party, stated that "Hymen Schlesinger is a member of the Legal Commission of the Communist Party in the United States." (100-179494-49)

1 - Mr. William C. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

1 - Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

NOTE: The above information is being furnished to the Department in view of its interest in the activities of the captioned organization which has recently made critical attacks against the Government's security program. Both Sartisky and Schlesinger are maintained in the Security Index. Informant is attempting to determine identity of attorney representing Ford Foundation and Pittsburgh is following matter closely and will keep Bureau advised.

By airtel dated 8/23/55 Pittsburgh advised that informant has attempted to learn identity of unknown attorney without success.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 8/27/55

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

ARTHUR SHERRY

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-25-89 BY 2058 BJS/bjs

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Gandy ☒

Arthur Sherry spoke at the 8/23/55, session of the Section on Criminal Law of the American Bar Association, on the survey being undertaken by the American Bar Foundation and the Special Committee on the Administration of Criminal Justice of the American Bar Association. He pointed out in some detail the research plans and studies that have gone into the planning for the survey of the administration of criminal justice. He pointed out that the survey would cover 35 states and Federal jurisdiction. The survey would be broken down into four parts: police functions, prosecution and defense, criminal courts, and the sentence, probation, and parole; that a body of materials would be published as available setting forth the findings. He stated that they propose to approach each field with a research team made up of experts in the four fields. The experts are as follows: police functions - O. W. Wilson, Dean, University of California, School of Criminology, whom Sherry characterizes as one of the top three or four leaders in the law enforcement field. The inquiry on prosecution and defense will be headed by Fred Inbau, of Northwestern University Law School. The inquiry on criminal courts will be headed up by Benjamin Matthews, a New York attorney who has made a hobby of this, and the inquiry on sentence, probation, and parole will be headed by Sanford Bates.

NOT RECORDED

Sherry pointed out in his remarks that the Ford Foundation had made a grant to carry on this project; that the Ford Foundation was made up of sociologists; that a determined effort had been made to inject sociologists into the survey and that a compromise had finally been worked out whereby Professor Frank Remington of the University of Wisconsin would be the Field Staff Director assisted by Professor Sam OLNEY of the University of Chicago; that this group will ultimately make recommendations to the Special Committee on the Administration of Criminal Justice and the American Bar Association, now headed by William J. Donovan. Olney is a member of this Special Committee as is Walter P. Armstrong, Jr., of Memphis, Tennessee, who is chairman of the Criminal Law Section.

Enclosures (2)

cc - Mr. Boardman

Mr. Harbo

Mr. Rosen

Mr. Jones

FOR APPROVAL
SENT DIRECTOR
8-31-55

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63 SEP 21 1955

SEP 12 1955

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: ARTHUR SHERRY

8/27/55

Sherry announced that on 8/22/55, Governor Kohler of Wisconsin had announced that the first study would be made in the State of Wisconsin and would start shortly after the first of the year; that it was anticipated that within 18 months the Wisconsin study would be ready for publication; that their present plans called for a period of five years to complete the project, the first three years to be devoted to the research and the remaining two years to be devoted to the studying of the results.

On Tuesday evening, 8/23/55, I took Sherry, Frank Coakley, District Attorney of Alameda County, California, and Mr. Tracy to dinner. Sherry was very friendly and affable. He is somewhat aloof and detached and has a typical professorial bearing. He commented during the course of the dinner that they had a big public relations job as heretofore all similar studies and surveys had been of a faultfinding nature; that he was determined that his study would be an objective study designed to find out what was good as well as the weaknesses and faults that need to be corrected. During the course of the evening, he confided that they had had difficulty with the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) and that Mr. Olney was going to appear at the annual convention of the IACP to explain the survey. I asked Sherry if this was not something he should do. He stated that he could not work this in. I made two or three digs at O. W. Wilson by inquiring, for example, as to whether he had had any reaction from police circles as to the acceptance of O. W. Wilson and the standing of O. W. Wilson. I think that we made our point because during the evening he inquired whether there was anybody better than O. W. Wilson. I told him that I would not presume to inject myself into such a matter.

This is not correct. Olney has not discussed it with
Sherry stated that he had had cordial correspondence with the Director and Mr. Olney had talked to the Director about the survey; that he hoped to be in Washington in the near future and confer with the Director as there were certain areas where they would need assistance from the FBI. He stated, for example, that there were several former FBI agents and officials whose services might be utilized most advantageously. At this point, Frank Coakley spoke up and told Sherry that he ought to be careful; that after all the Bureau had to work with the police and that he, Sherry, could render a great disservice by injecting the Bureau into local matters which would cause distrust on the part of the police. Sherry was argumentative on this point and Coakley, two or three times, spoke rather sharply to Sherry on the point.

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: ARTHUR SHERRY

8/27/55

Coakley, incidently, impressed me favorably and went out of his way to comment favorably on the Bureau. I told Sherry that if I might give him one word of caution, namely, that ~~if he is~~ going to use any former Bureau people he certainly should check with the Bureau in advance. He stated that he fully realized the pitfalls and this was one of the matters he desired to discuss with the Director. I gave him an opening to go into the other matters, however, he did not elect^{to} go into them. He did state that they were going to look our operation over and inquired how extensive. I pointed out that we, of course, have unique problems, namely, a lot of work was of an administrative nature, such as applicant investigations, and a lot of work was in the security field. He stated they were going into only straight criminal law matters. He stated that as he invisioned it at the present time their checks on Federal law enforcement would be made at the same time they are making over-all inquiries into criminal justice in a given state so that when they make their survey in Wisconsin they will also include a survey of Federal criminal jurisdiction.

Sherry then made the point that the Bureau had made a great contribution, had been the dominant influence in the field of law enforcement, and that he, frankly, did not see how we were able to accomplish what we do in the face of obstacles. He mentioned one such obstacle as the law of arrest. He then pointed out that there is still room for improvement of relations between local, county and state agencies and the FBI.

I asked him for particulars and he stated that he meant that there was still an undertone of criticism on the part of local agencies. I then made the point to Sherry that we were getting rather weary of the old canard that cooperation is a one-way street. I then pointed out that we had made a recent survey and found that in the past we had developed the information which was given to local authorities which resulted in their apprehension of more than 400 fugitives being sought by local authorities. I then mentioned several other local cases. I then went into the background and discussed the Maryland State Police case. Sherry was in thorough agreement with the Bureau's position throughout. I told him that whenever we heard that cooperation was a one-way street, we would like to know the particulars because it was the operating policy of the Bureau to cooperate and that I would hazard to guess that his survey would show that in the final results that we gave more to local police than they gave us.

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: ARTHUR SHERRY

8/27/55

Sherry at this point stated that he could tell me one case wherein there had not been cooperation. I then asked him what case this was. He stated that while he was in the Attorney General's Office in California, an individual had been arrested as a drunk, placed in the drunk tank of a police department, then taken to the hospital, and it was subsequently determined that he had a skull fracture and died; that the Attorney General's Office was asked to look into the case; that an investigator from the Attorney General's Office later told him that the FBI was investigating the matter; that he called the SAC at San Francisco who denied that we were making an investigation. Sherry did not think too much of this at the time. Then later on, one of their agents learned from one of our agents that we had two of three missing witnesses; that he again called the SAC and the SAC declined to give; that at a later date, the SAC was approached and at that time stated that yes, we had investigated the case but there was no case there.

I asked Sherry to identify the case because this simply did not sound right. He stated that he later understood that there had been some Congressional inquiry involved and this, of course, made the matter completely understandable to him why we would be cautious and there was no point in going into the case further. I told Sherry that I did not share his view; that it was necessary that we check into each such situation with a view of taking corrective action to prevent a repetition. Sherry stated he did not want to get anybody in trouble. I told him that nobody would get in trouble if they had acted properly. I then offered to take the identity of the case on any basis he might want to impose. He stated that we should just forget it; and I told him we would check and seek to identify the case.

We have identified the case as that involving David A. Myhren, victim. A brief memorandum is attached summarizing the case. The SAC and ASAC deny having received a call from Sherry. One of our investigative reports reflects a contact with an agent from the Attorney General's Office and it is obvious our agent and the agent from the Attorney General's Office exchanged information. We have had Harold Robinson, whom Sherry thinks well of, contacted and he says categorically that there was no lack of cooperation but that he, Robinson, believed that Sherry, who was an attorney in the Attorney General's Office at that time, got the impression that an agent of the Attorney General's Office attempted to get the names of two witnesses from FBI agents and were refused.

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: ARTHUR SHERRY

8/27/55

We, accordingly, interviewed Barnett Huse, the agent from the Attorney General's office, concerning the case and Huse reports that he thought nothing of the fact that the two FBI agents did not identify the two witnesses and in fact, he was not interested in their identity. Robinson has the recollection that Sherry told him he discussed this case with some SAC and he thought it was at a conference with the then United States Attorney Tramutolo. Abbaticchio attended such a conference but he does not recall Sherry ever mentioning or complaining about a lack of cooperation. After having secured the facts, I tried to reach Sherry in Philadelphia with negative results. I think it would be desirable for me to send him the attached personal letter because I think on a tactical basis the Director should not be injected into this at this time. However, this might come out during the time that Sherry has his so-called conference with the Director.

If approved, I would like to send the attached letter to Sherry.

Red

While I am approving
I specifically told
Nichols, wanted to sign
I have no awe of
Sherry. In fact I think
he is thoroughly unreliable
+ anti-FBI

d.

Tics-Sect. Ticker

ETEL

b6
b7c

August 22, 1955

SAC, Pittsburgh (orig. & 1)

FORD FOUNDATION, INFORMATION CONCERNING (LIAISON)

Reurairtel 8-9-55.

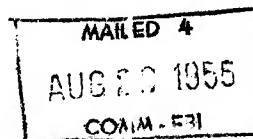
Re Informant's statement "unidentified male is an attorney possibly from New York representing the Ford Foundation." Sutel immediately clarifying whether "possibly" refers to Ford Foundation or is informant certain attorney works for Ford Foundation. Also can the unknown attorney be identified.

Hoover

RECORDED-400-391697 -133

EFT:ojk:hpf
(5)

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 20851 Jap

86 SEP 2 1955

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

AIR-TEL

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

FBI PITTSBURGH (100-)

8-9-55

HHD

DIRECTOR, FBI

FORD FOUNDATION INFORMATION CONCERNING (INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION).
DAYLET.

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ReBulet to NY 12-17-52. [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and whose identity should be concealed, orally advised SA [redacted] on 8-9-55, that on 8-8-55, he accidentally met JACK SARTISKY, District 5, CP Underground Board Member, HYMEN SCHLESINGER, local Pittsburgh attorney who regularly represents CP members, and an unidentified male at Thompson's Restaurant located on Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa. According to informant the unidentified male is an attorney, possibly from NY, representing the Ford Foundation and is in Pittsburgh to gather facts and figures concerning the discharge of government employees due to being security risks. Informant stated the unidentified attorney indicated such facts and figures will be submitted to a U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights headed by U.S. Senator WILLIAM LANGER of North Dakota. Informant stated unidentified attorney indicated that Ford Foundation contemplates using two million dollars in its fight for protection of constitutional rights. Informant will attempt to determine identity of attorney. Pittsburgh will follow matter closely and keep the Bureau advised.

b7D
b6
b7C

END

SHANKLIN

RMG/hhd
(7)

*Memorandum to A. J. Thompson
cc Rogers, 8/26/55
EFT*

[redacted]

b6
b7C

3 - Bureau (100-391697) (RM)

INDEXED-46

1 - Pittsburgh (100-4137)

1 - Pittsburgh (100-9044)

1 - [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-22-89 BY 20312168

391697-133

Mr. Belmont

cc: Mr. Condon

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AIRTEL

40251

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

FBI PITTSBURGH

8/23/55

5:05 PM EDST

DIRECTOR

FORD FOUNDATION, INFORMATION CONCERNING (LIAISON)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ReBuairtel, 8/22/55, and my airtel, 8/9/55.

Re statement in my reairtel by [redacted] "unidentified male is attorney possibly from New York representing the Ford Foundation."

The informant's written report relative to captioned matter, received 8/12/55, states re above that upon entering Thompson's Restaurant, Liberty Avenue, Pittsburgh, informant met JACK SARTISKY, HYMEN SCHLESINGER, and an unidentified male who SARTISKY and SCHLESINGER said "represented the Ford Foundation."

Informant orally advised on 8/9/55 that he was of opinion the unidentified attorney was possibly from New York and based this opinion upon the attorney's accent.

Informant since the meeting on 8/8/55 has endeavored to learn the identity of the UNSUB attorney without success.

SHANKLIN

END
RMG/jep
100-12867
(4)

3 - Bureau (100-391697)(RM)

Mr. Belmont

RECORDED-46

22 AUG 25 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 202/STJ/80

EX. - 106

66 SEP 2 1955

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

b6

b7C

b7D

esa

A memo
from

~~IRVING BERMAN~~

Janis -

Don file
VP

Thought you
might be interested
in this. I will
follow it up.

I.

1/ EL
62 N

Compliments of ~~LAW~~ REPORTER PRINTING CO.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1-25-89 BY SP8 BTJ/100-391697-135

INDEXED-42

21 AUG 30 1955

orig. encl.
on 2-2-55

286
187
63 SEP 8 - 1955

CRIM. REC.
W

24
m

June 16, 1955

TO: Mr. L. B. Nichols

RE: Fund for the Republic Study on Dept., of Justice

DATE: June 16, 1955

In accordance with our conversation concerning the above, I received this note from an associate.

"I spoke with Ping Ferry about this and he told me that all that the Fund has done is approve a grant for an examination of the testimony of the government's paid witnesses in various security proceedings. There is no over-all study contemplated on the Department's general activities in the security field."

I will attempt to get further information on this for you.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-25-89 BY SP8 BTJ/agp

ENCLOSURE

100-391697-135

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: August 20, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 20885

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Holloman _____
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John Bugas called me on August 18, 1955, to invite the Director to address the Industrial Arts Award banquet which is sponsored by the Ford Motor Company on September 29, 1955, Greenville, Michigan. He pointed out that there have been 5000 entries for this award. There will be 32 awards presented. There will be 400 educators present. I told Bugas that the Director's commitments were such I was certain he would be unable to do this but I would be glad to check. I told Bugas that there were personal considerations involved in this; that, after all, I personally felt that the Director ought to have his head examined if he were to accept such an invitation in view of recent information which has come to us, namely, that with the benefit of funds granted by the Ford Motor Company to the Ford Foundation and by the Ford Foundation to the Fund for the Republic, the latter group was now looking for some law school to investigate the FBI as well as the American Legion, and that in my opinion I thought the Director would be making a big mistake to accept such an invitation even if he could. I told Bugas I regretted bringing this up in view of our personal relationship but I felt constrained to do so.

Bugas let out an oath that would have caused the moon to blink and stated he had not heard of this latest move but that it did not surprise him and that the Fund for the Republic is the source of one embarrassment after another; that, after all, the Fund for the Republic is an independent entity and has no connection with the Ford Foundation or the Ford Motor Company. I told Bugas that this, of course, was all true, but it was the Ford Motor Company that was the creator of the Fund for the Republic and must assume the consequences for the chain reaction it had started.

Bugas stated that this, of course, was one of the big mistakes and that Henry, Jr., has admitted that his worst mistake was taking Paul Hoffman and Robert Hutchins.

I then inquired if he knew W. H. Ferry. Bugas stated he did know him; that he couldn't get within a hundred feet of any of the principal offices. I told him this was strange because the word was being circulated that Ferry was a close friend of Henry Ford and wrote Henry's speeches. Bugas stated that it was true at one time when Ferry was working with the Newsome Associates, who had the public relations account, but even then, Henry Ford did not have too much

cc: Mr. Boardman

64 SEP 8 1955

LBN:arm (5)

SENT DIRECTOR

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

confidence in Ferry and he, Bugas, had trouble with Ferry when Ferry got mixed up in labor relations and it took Bugas approximately two years to get him out.

Bugas then went on to relate that it was Henry personally who had gotten rid of Hutchins and Hoffman; that the feeling is very high in the Ford Motor Company against the Fund for the Republic; that Ernie Breech is very outspoken; that Henry's first mistake was putting Paul Hoffman in the Ford Foundation, along with Hutchins, and then to get Hutchins off the Ford Foundation, they had to put him into the Fund for the Republic, and the same applied to Hoffman. Later Bugas told me for my confidential information that the fifteen-million-dollar grant to the Fund for the Republic was for all practical purposes a payoff to Hutchins and Hoffman to get them off of the Ford Foundation, and he thought it was pretty high.

Later on the afternoon of August 18, after I had mentioned the Bugas invitation to the Director, I called Bugas back and told him I had talked to the Director; that the Director deeply appreciated the invitation but he could not work it in.

Bugas then volunteered the information that at lunch that noon, attended by Ernie Breech, Executive Vice President, Benson Ford, Bill Gossott, General Counsel of the Ford Motor Company, Ernie Breech brought up the Fund for the Republic and Bugas then asked Breech to wait until he heard what he, Bugas, had just heard. Bugas then related the conversation I had had with him, and then on his own pointed out that when the Fund of the Republic starts out to investigate the FBI and the American Legion, then the situation has gotten to such a serious point that something had to be done. Bugas then turned to Benson Ford and told Benson Ford that he and Henry have not seen or heard the end of this.

They then talked about Ferry and Benson Ford stated he would be surprised if Henry has talked to Ferry within the past two years and Henry has no use for Ferry. Bugas then told Benson that unless the Ford Foundation disavows the Fund of the Republic, that sooner or later the Ford Motor Company is going to pay for it. Bugas further stated everyone at the luncheon agreed that something needs to be done; that they felt miserable about the Fund for the Republic. Bugas asked that we let him know if we heard anything more. I told him we would be glad to.

Memorandum to Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

It so happened that James O'Neil, publisher of the American Legion Magazine and one of the chief braintrusts of the American Legion, came in to see me Friday afternoon. He knew Ferry very well when Ferry was a reporter on Manchester, New Hampshire, Dispatch. On one occasion, he caught Ferry going through a desk on the second floor of the police department. He ordered Ferry off the second floor and put out a rule that Ferry could not go to the second floor unless escorted. Ferry left the Manchester paper and went to the Concord, New Hampshire, Monitor, and then to the Office of Price Administration, New York. Bernard McQuay, publisher of the Manchester, New Hampshire, Sun News, has a letter which Ferry wrote to John S. Dickens, President of Dartmouth College offering his assistance in resisting the subversive investigation of the Attorney General of New Hampshire. He is going to try and get a copy of this letter.

O'Neil further stated Ferry was at Dartmouth at the time William Remington was at Dartmouth.

At one time, Ferry was Director of Public Relations for CIO-PAC.

O'Neil further stated a Mose Dechter, employee of the Fund for the Republic, called at his office recently stating that he was working on the impact of Communism and started making inquiries pertaining to the American Legion Magazine.

O'Neil further stated that one of Ferry's closest friends was former Special Agent William Phinney at Manchester, New Hampshire, who turned down the job as General Counsel for the Defense establishment.

O'Neil told me that he had also heard that the Fund for the Republic was contemplating investigating both the American Legion and the FBI and that he felt considerable opposition would develop within the Legion against the Fund for the Republic.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *V. J. G.*

DATE: August 17, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT:

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
HERBERT LAWRENCE BLOCK,
 known as HERBLOCK

Tolson ☒
 Boardman ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Sizoo ☒
 Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒

Russell Turner, of the office of Fulton Lewis, Jr., advised Mr. McGuire today that he had come upon information to the effect that the Fund for the Republic was contemplating putting Herblock, the cartoonist of the Washington Post and Times Herald, on a fifteen-minute weekly television program as a news-commentator. Turner stated this intrigued him so he checked with the office of the Fund for the Republic in New York and received confirmation that Herblock was to do a strictly news commentary on film for use on television and that he was being sponsored by the Fund for the Republic, but that the detailed arrangements had not yet been worked out. Turner was told that a determination had not yet been made as to whether the film would be distributed in local areas to individual stations or whether it would be put on a network, and that they had not yet settled on the network which might be interested in handling a program like this. Turner thought this was a most interesting development indicative of the manner in which the Fund for the Republic was operating and it struck him as being an entirely new field for Block, who up to now has been strictly a cartoonist rather than a news analyst.

This is for information only.

80371

cc: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont
 Mr. Jones

JJM:arm

(5)

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DATE 3-24-80 BY SP-5 R/L/HW
 7-25-89

RECORDED - 14

24 AUG 30 1955

EX-121

SENT DIRECTOR
 8-20-55

SEP 12 1955

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN
 100-46522-1

August 31, 1955

~~PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. George E. Sokolsky
300 West End Avenue
New York, New York

Dear George:

It was my pleasure to read your column, "Pattern of the Fund," which appeared in the August 30, 1955, issue of The Washington Post and Times Herald.

I feel you have done an excellent job in apprising your readers of some of the facts with regard to the Fund for the Republic. Many times the public is misled by professedly good objectives which serve only to obscure the true facts.

Sincerely,

1 ENCL.

NOTE: Address and salutation per Special Correspondents' List.

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
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Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

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(5)

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-2-89

These Days By George Sokolsky

Pattern of the Fund

THE FUND for the Republic was established by the Ford Foundation and was given \$15 million which Paul Hoffman a n, Robert Hutchins, and W. H. Ferry, together with a front of trustees, were to spend for general purposes. The Ford trustees stated:



Sokolsky

"The Foundation will support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension."

Nobody can object to any group fighting for civil liberties of various kinds and a great many organizations exist for such purposes in the United States.

The difference between these bodies and the Fund for the Republic, which the Ford Foundation established, is that whereas all the others are voluntary organizations of citizens who believe in a cause and set themselves up

to fight for it and are subject to the criticism of their members and the withholding of support, the Fund for the Republic, on the other hand, consists of trustees and a hired office staff who are subject to no control, have no members, and have an enormous treasury which is income-tax free.

THE ACTUAL manager of this operation is a former newspaper man, W. H. Ferry. Ferry is reputed to be fanatically enthusiastic about whatever he does and has turned the Fund for the Republic into a kind of actions committee whose pattern may best be discerned by the following partial list of books, articles and other material which it has distributed widely with the object of influencing public opinion:

"Banned Books" by Anne Lyon Haight. Book 275 distributed to May 31. Librarians and library trustees.

"Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists" Special issue on loyalty-security. 25,000 copies. Lists selected by publisher.

"Cornell Series in Civil Liberties" Books. Cornell University Press. Fund personnel; lists selected by publisher.

"GRAND INQUEST" by Telford Taylor. Book. 45 copies. Federal bench.

"Open Occupancy Housing" Article. House and Home. 15,000 copies. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. Others in the field.

"The Age of the Atom" Marjorie Oppenheimer. Television interview. One hundred ten 16mm. prints. Educational institutions, civic organizations, local discussion groups.

"Strong in Their Pride and Free" by Harry P. Cain. Speech. 2000 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

The list is all one-sided. It is anti-FBI, anti-congressional committees investigating subversives. Certainly any citizen can be anti-FBI and anti-congressional committees.

(Copyright 1955, King Features Syndicate, Inc.)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Sizoo _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-22-79 BY 2863/6/8

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

FOR THE DIRECTOR

Mr. Nichols

September 1,
1955

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
SEPTEMBER 1, 1955
"FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC"

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 60381 SJL

Lewis dealt generally with the day's news before his discussion on the "Fund for the Republic." He recited receiving grants from the "Fund" and the amount of the grants as follows:

- (1) American Bar Association for a study by a special committee on individual rights as affected by national security - \$15,000.
- (2) American Friends Service Committee for job training programs in Dallas, Texas; Greensboro, North Carolina; and internment in the District of Columbia and work with the American Indians - \$13,000.
- (3) Two-year program for support in legal cases to strengthen the right to freedom of conscience - \$150,000.
- (4) For assistance to radio tape programs on civil liberty topics - \$15,000.
- (5) American Heritage Council for a two-year program dealing with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in cooperation with the Illinois Department of The American Legion. (Lewis said he was checking with Legion Headquarters about this) - \$50,000.
- (6) American Library Association for assistance in the production and distribution for the newsletter on intellectual freedom - \$10,000.
- (7) Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., for a study and report by the special committee of the Federal Security Program - \$100,000.
- (8) Aid to defendants in civil liberty cases - \$5,000.
- (9) Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., for the freedom agenda program for the preparation of educational materials and the conducting of a national discussion program - \$111,610.
- (10) Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago to expand a program for reducing interracial tension - \$18,000.

Tolson _____
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Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman

JTM:rwp:rcw:bs

(7)

INDEXED

100-391697-138

NOT RECORDED

170 SEP 8 1955

INTRODUCTION

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

September 1, 1955

(11) Civil Area Committee of the Waverly, Iowa, Chamber of Commerce - a special award for constructive action in racial relations - \$10,000.

(12) The following groups are all associated with Columbia University:

(A) A two-day conference on community security versus man's right to knowledge - \$4,500.

(B) Preparation and distribution of material pertaining to the University's bicentennial celebration including a documentary film, "Freedom to Read," radio programs and pamphlets - \$40,000.

(C) A pilot study by the Bureau of Applied Social Research of current situations involving pressures on local educational institutions - \$3,000.

(D) Preparation by the Bureau of Applied Social Research for a study of extremist groups - \$15,300.

(E) A pilot study of tenure law and practices of American colleges and universities by the American Academic Freedom Project - \$10,000.

Lewis said he would have more on the "Fund for the Republic" tomorrow.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: 9/1/55

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

0 Fund for the Republic
 Irving Ferman, the Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), in a recent conversation informed me that he is very much concerned over developments in the ACLU; that a trend was started a few years ago of setting up affiliates over which the national organization has no control and that at the present time some of the affiliates are giving a great deal of concern to the national office.

He pointed out for example that the Denver affiliate was a good illustration; that Rod Holmgren, who is connected with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, attends Board meetings as a visitor and takes part in the meetings. I am attaching a copy of the minutes of the Executive Committee of the ACLU affiliate in Colorado dated 1/12/55, which Ferman has sent to me. Ferman further stated that there is no way the national office of the ACLU can control the affiliates and on the other hand, some of the affiliates, he ~~fears~~, have been infiltrated and unless steps are taken will soon be controlling the national organization.

Ferman further stated that it is ^{of} considerable concern to him that the Fund for the Republic has made a grant of \$6,000 to a Committee made up of affiliates of the ACLU to investigate the New York Office of the ACLU. It is entirely possible that herein lies the explanation for Ferman's rather decided fears concerning the Fund for the Republic.

Enclosure
 cc - Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont

LBN:fc
 (4)

ENCL.

Filed with original

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 DATE 7-25-89 BY SP3 100-391697-
 613198 SEP 13 1955

SEP 16 1955

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 Holloman
 Gandy

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 61-190

September 1, 1955

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tamm	_____
Mr. Sizoo	_____
Mr. Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BOARDMAN
MR. BELMONT
MR. WAIKART
MR. WICK
MR. JONES

The Director desires that the numerous clippings, editorials and columns pertaining to the Fund For the Republic get into the file and be indexed so that they will be available for ready reference in the future. I desire personally to see all clippings on the Fund For the Republic.

Mr. Waikart should take steps to see to it that all such clippings are properly processed in the Records Section and filed.

LBN:ptm
(6)

B. Nichols

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
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58 SEP 12 1955

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OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
August 30, 1955

It is interesting to note the variance
in the last paragraph of Sokolsky's
column as it appears in the Washington
Post and in the N. Y. Journal American.

FCH

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. Boardman ☒
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Belmont ☒
Mr. Harbo ☒
Mr. Mohr ☒
Mr. Parsons ☒
Mr. Rosen ☒
Mr. Tamm ☒
Mr. Jones ☒
Mr. Sizoo ☒
Mr. Winterrowd ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Mr. Holloman ☒
Miss Holmes ☒
Miss Gandy ☒

Handwritten signature/initials

*File this so it may
be easily found as
indication of fresh.
Post by the of fairness
in such matters!*

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4-17 (8-3-55)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
RECORDS SECTION

9/6, 1955

<u>Mr. Tolson</u>	<u>Mr. Winkart</u>
<u>Mr. Nichols</u>	<u>Mr. Barnes</u>
<u>Mr. Boardman</u>	<u>Mr. Short</u>
<u>Mr. Belmont</u>	<u>Mr. Engelstad</u>
<u>Mr. Harbo</u>	<u>Mr. Linton</u>
<u>Mr. Mohr</u>	<u>Mr. Medler</u>
<u>Mr. Parsons</u>	<u>Mr. O'Connell</u>
<u>Mr. Rosen</u>	
<u>Mr. Tamm</u>	<u>Mrs. Cole, 7105</u>
<u>Miss Gandy</u>	<u>Miss Ervin, 7204</u>
	<u>Miss Gibson, 7206</u>
<u>Mr. Edwards, H.L.</u>	<u>Mrs. Kendall, 7264</u>
<u>Mr. Holloman</u>	
<u>Mr. Jackson</u>	<u>Mr. Allwin</u>
<u>Mr. Jones, M.A.</u>	<u>Mrs. Anderson</u>
<u>Mr. Leonard</u>	<u>Miss Brooks</u>
<u>Mr. McGuire</u>	<u>Mr. Cleaver</u>
<u>Mr. McMichael</u>	<u>Mrs. Collins</u>
<u>Mr. Newman</u>	<u>Mrs. Conover</u>
<u>Mr. Renneberger</u>	<u>Mr. Glover</u>
<u>Mr. Sizoo</u>	<u>Miss Harrington</u>
<u>Mr. Wherry</u>	<u>Mrs. Mead</u>
	<u>Miss Murphey</u>
<u>RECORDS SECTION</u>	<u>Mr. Oliver</u>
<u>IDENT BUILDING</u>	<u>Mr. Runaldue</u>
<u>Mr. Brown</u>	<u>Miss Rusnak</u>
<u>Mr. Freund</u>	<u>Mrs. Stone</u>
<u>Mr. Marshall</u>	<u>Mrs. Venable</u>
	<u>Miss Wolfe</u>
<u>Miss Kephart</u>	<u>M</u>
<u>Mr. Lawrence</u>	<u>Room</u>
<u>Mrs. McGrath</u>	
<u>Mr.</u>	<u>Send File</u>
<u>Room</u>	<u>Per Conversation</u>
	<u>For your</u>
<u>See Me</u>	<u>Information</u>
<u>Phone Me</u>	
<u>For appropriate</u>	
<u>Action</u>	
<u>Note & Return</u>	

May we file pink R's
with Director's notation?

Yes
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DATE 7-25-89 BY 808051/abp

F. W. WALKART

*only
vss*

These Days By George Sokolsky

Pattern of the Fund

THE FUND for the Republic was established by the Ford Foundation and was given \$15 million which Paul Hoffman, Robert Hutchins and W. H. Ferry, together with a front of trustees, were to spend for general purposes. The Ford trustees stated:



Sokolsky

"The Foundation will support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension."

Nobody can object to any group fighting for civil liberties of various kinds and a great many organizations exist for such purposes in the United States.

The difference between these bodies and the Fund for the Republic, which the Ford Foundation established, is that whereas all the others are voluntary organizations of citizens who believe in a cause and set themselves up

to fight for it and are subject to the criticism of their members and the withholding of support, the Fund for the Republic, on the other hand, consists of trustees and a hired office staff who are subject to no control, have no members, and have an enormous treasury which is income-tax free.

THE ACTUAL manager of this operation is a former newspaper man, W. H. Ferry. Ferry is reputed to be fanatically enthusiastic about whatever he does and has turned the Fund for the Republic into a kind of actions committee whose pattern may best be discerned by the following partial list of books, articles and other material which it has distributed widely with the object of influencing public opinion:

"Banned Books" by Anne Lyon Haight. Book. 275 distributed to May 31. Librarians and library trustees.

"Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists." Special issue on loyalty-security. 25,000 copies. Lists selected by publisher.

"Cornell Series in Civil Liberties." Books. Cornell University Press. Fund personnel; lists selected by publisher.

"GRAND INQUEST" by Telford Taylor. Book. 45 copies. Federal bench.

"Open Occupancy Housing." Article. 'House and Home.' 15,000 copies. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; others in race relations field.

"See It Now." Murrow-Openheimer television interview. One hundred ten 16mm. prints. Educational institutions; civic organizations; local discussion groups.

"Strong in Their Pride and Free" by Harry P. Cain. Speech. 3000 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House. The list is all one-sided. It is anti-FBI, anti-congressional committees investigating subversives. Certainly any citizens can be anti-FBI and anti-congressional committees.

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Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Parsons _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tamm _____
Mr. Sizoo _____
Mr. Winterrowd _____
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Mr. Holloman _____
Miss Gandy _____

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*L.P. Hight
1976*

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date AUG 2 1955

SENT DIRECTOR

8-30-55

ENCLOSURE

THESE DAYS:**A One-Sided
Tax Free Fund**By **GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY**

THE Fund for the Republic was established by the Ford Foundation and was given \$15,000,000 which Paul Hoffman, Robert Hutchins and W. H. Ferry, together with a front of trustees, were to spend for general purposes. The Ford Trustees stated:

"The Foundation will support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension."

Nobody can object to any group fighting for civil liberties of various kinds and a great many organizations exist for such purposes in the United States, as, for instance, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, etc., etc. These organizations have been long in existence and, preferred or opposed, they are well-known and understood.

The difference between these bodies and The Fund for the Republic, which the Ford Foundation established, is that whereas all the others are voluntary organizations of citizens who believe in a cause and set themselves up to fight for it and are subject to the criticism of their members and the withholding of support, The Fund for the Republic, on the other hand, consists of trustees and a hired office staff who are subject to no control, have no members, and have an enormous treasury which is income-tax free.

A List of Books

The actual manager of this operation is a former newspaper man, W. H. Ferry, familiarly known as "Ping" Ferry. "Ping" Ferry is reputed to be fanatically enthusiastic about whatever he does and has turned The Fund for the Republic into a kind of actions committee whose pattern may best be discerned by the following list of books, articles and other material which it has distributed widely with the object of influencing public opinion:

~~"Banned Books"~~ by Anne Lyon Haight. Book. 275 distributed to May 31. Librarians and library trustees.

~~"Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists."~~ Special issue on loyalty-security. 25,000 copies. Lists selected by publisher.

~~"Cornell Series in Civil Liberties."~~ Books. Cornell University Press. Fund personnel; lists selected by publisher.

~~"Faceless Informers and Our Schools"~~ by Lawrence Martin. Pamphlet. Denver Post. 25,000 copies. State School Board Associations.

~~"Freedom Award Speeches."~~ Pamphlet. Freedom House. 690 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

~~"Government by Investigation"~~ by Alan Barth. Book. 60 copies. Lists selected by publisher.

~~"Grand Inquest"~~ by Telford Taylor. Book. 45 copies. Federal Bench.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. Boardman _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Belmont _____
Mr. Harbo _____
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Wash. Post and _____
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Wash. Star _____
N. Y. Herald _____
Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

AUG 30 1955
Date _____

ENCLOSURE

~~"Open Occupancy Housing."~~ Article, ~~"House and Home."~~ 15,000 copies. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; others in race relations field.

~~"See It Now."~~ Murrow-Oppenheimer television interview. One hundred ten 16 mm. prints. Educational institutions, civic organizations; local discussion groups.

~~"See It Now."~~ Television program on book censorship in California. Five 16 mm. prints. Southern California civic groups.

~~"Strong in Their Pride and Free"~~ by Harry P. Cain. Speech. 3,000 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

It's All One-Sided

~~"The Fifth Amendment Today"~~ by Erwin N. Griswold. Book. 35,000 copies. Bench and bar.

~~"The Kept Witnesses"~~ by Richard H. Revere. Article. Harper's. 25,000 copies. Labor officials; business executives.

~~"The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt"~~ by Richard Hofstadter. Article. 'American Scholar.' 25,000 copies. Business executives; educators; Churchmen.

~~"To Insure the End of Our Hysteria"~~ by Paul G. Hoffman. Article. 'The New York Times Magazine.' Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; American Dental Association.

~~"To Make Our Security System Secure"~~ by Vannevar Bush. Article. 'The New York Times Magazine.' 10,000 copies. Educators.

~~"Who 'Collaborated' with Russia?"~~ by Paul Willen. Article. 'Antioch Review.' 600 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

The list is all one-sided. It is anti-FBI, anti-Congressional Committees investigating subversives. Certainly any citizens can be anti-FBI and anti-Congressional Committees. But the question arises: If rich corporations can set up tax-free foundations to propagate a particular point of view, is there not a possibility of limiting freedom of debate because no tax-free money is available for another point of view?

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Mr. Nichols

August 29, 1955

M. A. Jones

FORD FOUNDATION
FULTON LEWIS JR., BROADCAST
STATION WNDG
AUGUST 29, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-25-79 BY 2083U/af

Fulton Lewis, Jr., stated that he would examine the people who controlled the distribution of the fifteen million dollar fund for the Republic. Primarily responsible for having real practical control of distribution for the Fund's money is Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, former president and chancellor of the University of Chicago. His views and policies will be reflected in the distribution of money. In 1929, at the age of thirty, he became President of the University of Chicago, and, due to his vigorously progressive ideas on education, he had trouble with the faculty and the faculty senate adopted an unprecedented resolution of censure against him.

By 1951, because of public criticism and alumni criticism, Hutchins resigned voluntarily and became Associate Director of the Ford Foundation then being set up. The Ford Foundation amounts to about one-half billion dollars. In 1953, the Ford Foundation appropriated fifteen million dollars for the Fund for the Republic. In 1954, Hutchins became president and member of the board of directors at a reputed salary of about forty thousand dollars.

Mr. Lewis indicated the way to reflect the thinking of an individual is to let him tell his own story. This he did by the following items:

In 1949, the Illinois State Legislature set up a special commission to investigate Communist activities at the University of Chicago campus. On April 20, 1949, during cross-examination, Hutchins had said he did not believe "that Communism is a clear and present danger." He was not convinced that Communist fronts were part of a Communist movement. He said there was a Communist club on the campus but believed the purpose of the members was to study Communism. He thought the club had ten or eleven members and the largest number that he knew of to attend a meeting was seven. Later testimony showed that six weeks prior to Dr. Hutchins' testimony the actual count of those present showed thirty-six persons attended a club meeting.

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CC - Mr. Nichols
CC - Mr. Boardman
Belmont

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

August 29, 1955

The Peoples' Daily World on December 9, 1952, under Beverly Hills, California, dateline, reported Hutchins' speech to the Beverly Hills, High School student body stating that Hutchins defined the wave of spy hysteria as one of nervous shock. He added that this is one of the few countries in the world in which the Communist cannot teach or hold Government positions. Hutchins said "today we are cursed by a tremendous glorification of the FBI, the only people we will believe are confessed spys and traitors."

He stated that the Attorney General now proposes to evade the fifth amendment and permit the use of evidence obtained illegally by wire tapping. He noted that Brownell was a student at Yale University Law School while he, Hutchins, was a teacher there, but hopes that Brownell was not in any of his classes. He said, "I would catch and punish criminals, I would not condemn a man because he belonged to an organization. The Communist Party may be in the hands of the Kremlin, but it does not follow every one in the Communist Party is part of the Communist conspiracy. I do not believe that spying accelerated by thirty days the development of the atom bomb in Russia."

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

August 29, 1955

Asked whether he had any doubts if the Communist party was a subversive organization, Hutchins replied "I cannot believe that is true in this country or the Communist party would long since have been illegal."

Quoting from the Daily Worker of Friday, July 7, 1950, page four, columns one and two; Dr. Hutchins discussing the University of Southern California where one hundred and fifty-seven college employees had been severed from the payroll for refusing to sign loyalty oaths said "the regents action was a serious indictment of the board of regents and especially of Dr. Sproul, president of the university, who had supported the clean-up." Hutchins questioned his fortitude and qualifications to head a great university and indicated that at this rate the university would not be great for long.

The Daily Worker, on June 25, 1951, carried a story which was actually an attack on the Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders. The Daily Worker quoted Dr. Hutchins, "This indicates we are at last up against a great crisis in this country. It is a new day and a new Supreme Court. Now it is more difficult for you to take some of the positions we have in the past." Hutchins said to the group that he was always willing to hire Communists to be college professors. Hutchins quoted, "We may now have to decide whether we will violate the law to remain in conformity with our convictions."

On June 12, 1953, on page four of the Washington Post, under a Pasadena, California, date line, Dr. Hutchins was quoted as blasting the California State Senate Investigating Committee on Education as subversive and un-American and urged its repudiation. Dr. Hutchins was mentioned in the committee's eleventh report "opposition to loyalty" because of his former connection with the Book foundation. Hutchins said the committee was in the very forefront of subversive and un-American organizations. Dr. Hutchins noted that "never before so far as I know has an official agency attacked freedom of thought or freedom of speech."

On December 15, 1952, The Daily Peoples' World, West Coast, Communist newspaper commenting on a story that a professor in a dairying state had been dismissed because he had praised oleomargarine. Dr. Hutchins stated "if educators are beaten into conformity by un-Americans then newspapermen and journalists will undoubtedly be next because the comic book wields greater influence on the child than the educator. Mothers who are supposed to mold a child's character will probably have to take loyalty oaths," Hutchins added dryly.

September 2, 1955

Mr. Nichols

M. A. Jones

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DATE 7-25-89 BY 2058 BTJ/pf

FULTON LEWIS, JR.

RADIO BROADCAST, 7 to 7:15 p.m., September 2, 1955

STATION WWDC, WASHINGTON, D. C.

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Mr. Lewis devoted his entire broadcast to a continuation of his discussion concerning the Fund for the Republic and grants by it.

Lewis stated that his Thursday evening broadcast had created a furor when he announced that Dr. Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic announced a grant of \$50,000 to the American Heritage Council and the Illinois Department of the American Legion. He stated this grant involves direct and indirect politics.

Lewis reported a portion of the annual report of the Fund for the Republic dealing with this matter substantially as follows: "The Illinois Department of the American Legion in cooperation with the American Heritage Council of Chicago has adopted a plan of popular education centering around a discussion of the basic documents in the history of the U. S. Irving Brakestone, (ph) Commander of the Illinois Department of the American Legion calls this effort a positive approach to Communism. He has expressed the hope that the project will spread to other departments of the American Legion. The Fund for the Republic has made a grant to this enterprise to assist for a period of two years." Lewis further stated that among the list of grants itemized was the following: "The American Heritage Council for a two-year program dealing with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in cooperation with the American Legion---\$50,000."

INDEXED-39

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Lewis stated that the morning of 9/2/55 he received a telegram from a top Illinois Department of the American Legion official whom he did not name. This telegram advised that Brakestone, the Commander of the Illinois Department of the American Legion, was controversial and not a good source concerning this enterprise. The sender recommended that Lewis contact some of the American Legion officials still fighting the American Heritage Council as a Legion project. He recommended that Lewis see any of three officials now in attendance at the American Legion Convention in Springfield, Illinois. Among those listed was Edward Klamadge, former State Commander and present Chairman of the Illinois American Legion Anti-Subversive Committee.

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Gandy _____

CC.-Mr. Nichols

Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont

58 SEP 1 1955

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

September 2, 1955

Klanadge was contacted by Lewis by phone and advised that the American Legion participation in this project was not approached by either the State Executive Committee or the Convention but rather it was strictly a deal between Brakestone and the Fund for the Republic. Klanadge further advised that the ⁹⁸⁸County Division of the Illinois Department of the American Legion consisting of approximately 400 posts around Chicago, repudiated the project. As a result of the furor over the American Heritage Council, Klanadge said that a resolution was being proposed by his Committee to urge Congress to investigate tax exemption foundations.

Lewis related that the listener should not confuse the American Heritage Council with the American Heritage Foundation in which Dean Pat Manion (ph) of the University of Notre Dame was active.

Lewis then contacted Victor Rubin, the Executive Director of the American Heritage Council, at their offices located at 160 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Lewis read the statement by Hutchins and Rubin and stated that there must be a typographical error in that the wording always used by him and Brakestone was that this project was a "positive approach to Americanism" rather than a "positive approach to Communism." Rubin advised that the forerunner of the present American Heritage Council was the Committee for Protection of the American Heritage which was originally founded in 1947. In 1947, the Illinois Department of the American Legion adopted a resolution in favor of, as Lewis reported it, "the then existing aims of the then existing committee."

There was no Board of Directors for the Committee for Protection of the American Heritage. The reorganization was the result of the efforts of Rubin and Barnet Hodies (ph) described by Lewis as a Chicago politician of former Mayor Kelly's political machine. One Wilbur E. Anikee (ph) was the Chairman of the Executive Committee but the real leaders are Hodies and Rubin.

Rubin stated to Lewis that he believed the opposition of the Cook County Division of the Illinois Department of the American Legion was a result of factionalism. He does not know the real basis for the opposition.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

September 2, 1955

Robert MAYNARD

Lewis pointed out that the stated aim of this organization indicated it is for interracial good will. Lewis then pointed out that Dr. ~~Hutchins~~ joined the Ford Foundation in 1951 at the same time the American Heritage Council was formed under the reorganization and at that time \$35,000 was granted by the Ford Foundation to the American Heritage Council. Now while Hutchins is active in the Fund for the Republic a grant of \$50,000 is also given to this Council. Rubin related that the money comes to him and he in turn pays the cost of stationery, et cetera, for the various Legion Chapters in connection with the enterprise. 111

Lewis intends to continue his report of the American Heritage Council the following Monday.

RECOMMENDATION: None, for information.

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Encl

September 1, 1955

PERSONAL ATTENTION

Mr. David Lawrence
Editor
U. S. News and World Report
24th and M Streets, Northwest
Washington 7, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-25-89 BY 208251/af

Dear Dave:

I read with considerable interest your
pertinent column, "Lucky Break for the Communists,"
which appeared in the August 29, 1955, edition of
The Washington Evening Star.

Your clear and objective analysis should
do much to clarify this issue which has been the
subject of so much muddled thinking.

I certainly feel you are rendering a
vital and valuable public service by present-
ing the full story in its proper perspective.

Sincerely,

J. Edgar Hoover

*Newspaper
clipping
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NOTE: The column referred to is an objective analysis of
the first report of the Fund for the Republic.

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SEP 15 1955

DAVID LAWREN

Lucky Break for the Communists

Report of 'Fund for Republic' Viewed As Minimizing Activities of Reds in U.S.

The Communist cause in America has had a lucky break. Though not so intended, of course, it turns out that \$15 million originally derived from the free-enterprise system through the diligent and inventive efforts of the late Henry Ford is now going to be used to help persuade the people of the United States that Communist activity in America has been insignificant and unimportant. Yet one of the main objectives of the Communists has been and is to destroy the system of private capitalism in our own country and to subvert the Government of the United States and its institutions.

To be able to mobilize \$15 million to carry on a political propaganda and to put it in a fund which is exempt from paying income taxes is quite an achievement for any cause, however, well intentioned, especially since up to now philanthropic foundations have not engaged openly in propaganda on political issues, nor have they boldly announced that they are going to do so. Legally they have the right to espouse almost any cause, and it certainly would seem logical that \$15 million of private funds would be forthcoming from somewhere else soon to uphold the cause of relentless opposition to the growth and spread of Communism inside this country.

The Ford Foundation gave \$15 million to the so-called "Fund for the Republic" and the first available report on what's going on, recently issued by the head of the fund, does not hesitate to exude a political flavor and to reveal the biased program of objectives in the various studies being financed. The report says:

"Many public actions have been taken and many political reputations have been built on assumptions about what the Communists in the United States have been able to accomplish and what they are doing at the present time. It has seemed useful to make some effort to discover whether or not these assumptions are well founded. The

tion to enable Prof. Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University to carry out a definitive study of what the Communist Party has amounted to and what it amounts to now."

This particular project thus far has been awarded about \$285,000, but the Congress of the United States and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have spent many millions of dollars on that subject already. It takes, however, only a small amount of money to issue and get publicity for a report that seeks to discredit the anti-Communist inquiries and findings of the past by Congress. The "Fund for the Republic" report says:

"The accepted view of Communist activity in the United States rests in large part on evidence given in various contexts by a small number of witnesses. There has never been a sustained and rigorous analysis of the sum total of this material. . . ."

Yet committees of Congress and the reports of the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on this very subject have been issued yearly for more than two decades. Only last year the Senate Foreign Relations Committee issued a document giving a digest of all the laws and regulations governing the internal security program. The chairman of the committee wrote in a preface to it:

"An impartial observer will note, too, that the effort to strengthen our internal security laws has also been subject very often to ridicule as constituting a 'mountain out of a mole hill' and as allegedly too 'costly' to be justified.

"However, a look at modern history will show how a single spy, or dangerous dupe, e.g. a single traitor like Klaus Fuchs, can virtually change an entire pattern . . . in history by his service to the cause of international Communism."

Rejecting the theory that the quantity of members of the Communist Party or the number of witnesses before committees is a measure of the extent of the treason that the Communists encourage, the Congress of the United States just a year ago by overwhelming vote of both Democrats and Republicans wrote

into the laws of the land the following declaration:

"The Congress hereby finds and declares that the Communist Party of the United States, although purportedly a political party, is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States. It constitutes an authoritarian dictatorship within the Republic, demanding for itself the rights and privileges accorded to political parties, but denying to all others the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution."

"The Communist Party is relatively small numerically and gives scant indication of capacity ever to attain its end by lawful political means. The peril inherent in its operations arises not from its numbers, but from its failure to acknowledge any limitation as to the nature of its activities, and its dedication to the proposition that the present constitutional Government of the United States ultimately must be brought to ruin by any available means, including resort to force and violence. Holding that doctrine, its role as the agency of the hostile foreign power renders its existence a clear and present and continuing danger to the security of the United States. It is the means whereby individuals are seduced into the service of the world Communist movement, trained to do its bidding, and directed and controlled in the conspiratorial performance of their revolutionary services. Therefore the Communist Party should be outlawed."

But the so-called "Fund for the Republic" with its \$15 million apparently is to try to prove by its studies that the American people are "remarkably intolerant of minority views" and that "a political party" in this country has merely been "identified with the 'enemy.'"

The word "enemy" is given in quotation marks in the report. Nowhere in it is there any statement that incontrovertible evidence has been presented to Congress and the courts showing how a conspiracy, financed and directed by a foreign government, has set up a political party as a front in America which has actually been used for treasonable purposes.

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DATE 7-25-89 BY 20223 JLB

ENCLOSURE

100-391671

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: September 27, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS BROADCAST
WWDC

7:00 p.m., SEPTEMBER 27, 1955

Nixon
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

The first ten minutes of the Fulton Lewis broadcast tonight was devoted to commenting on the President's health, political ramifications of the President's condition and other topics germane to this issue.

In speaking of Vice President Nixon, Mr. Lewis took the "Washington Post and Times Herald" over the coals for their recent attack against Vice President Nixon. He said the Washington Post and Times Herald had devoted a major part of its editorial section recently to the Vice President and it was one of the most vicious attacks he had ever seen in public print against anyone. There were several articles about why he was not liked in Congress which were not true, and smear stories about his ability and his personal life with a cartoon by Herblock, "who is under contract to the 'Fund For the Republic' for \$200,000 for television series this fall, which was particularly vicious." He said the cartoon pictured a rather tired looking President Eisenhower looking thin and frail, and on the President's shoulders was a fat gangster portrayal of the Vice President with arms around Mr. Eisenhower's neck. The title of the cartoon was "You Are Going To Run Again, Aren't You?"

Mr. Lewis stated that actually the President has a very high personal regard for Nixon and "whatever the Washington Post, Herblock, the New York Post, and the Daily Worker may try to make the public believe, that Nixon is a particularly seasoned and successful campaigner in his own right, "make no mistake about that."

Lewis stated that Nixon was marked because he was one of the leading and most effective figures in the anti-Communist investigating committees of Congress and such elements mark anyone who enters the field and tries to drive them out of public life.

cc-Mr. Nichols
cc-Mr. Boardman
cc-Mr. Belmont
cc-Fund for Republic File (100-391697)

OCT 4 1955

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DATE 7-25-89 BY 08231 JAL

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

September 27, 1955

Mr. Lewis went on to state that these elements have tried unsuccessfully to get Mr. Nixon out of the political picture. They tried three years ago and have again marked him for destruction. "They will try their worst with no holds barred this time. They have the \$15,000,000 of the 'Fund For the Republic' behind them and a year in which to work, which brings up another little item. I have here before me a dispatch which came through on the United Press wire last night at 8:25 p.m. under a Little Rock, Arkansas, dateline which reads as follows:

'Harry S. Ashmore, Executive Editor of the Arkansas Gazette, announced today that he will begin a leave of absence in early October to become a personal assistant to Adlai E. Stevenson, 1952 Democratic presidential nominee.'

Mr. Lewis then quoted Ashmore as saying: "This does not necessarily mean that Governor Stevenson has made a final decision concerning his availability for the nomination." Ashmore said that Stevenson asked him to assist in developing the issues for the 1956 election. Mr. Lewis stated that as titular head of the party the Governor intended to take an active part in the campaign whatever his personal role might be. Lewis said he thought it a fair assumption that this move indicated that Mr. Harry Ashmore, who has been a very controversial figure in newspaper circles because of his extreme liberal views, is going to involve himself in direct and specific politics in connection with the forthcoming Presidential election.

Mr. Lewis then said: "Now let me read to you from the annual report for the 'Fund For the Republic.' The list of directors, with Paul G. Hoffman as Chairman of the Board, Harry S. Ashmore, Executive Editor, would seem to mean that Mr. Adlai Stevenson will have a pipeline to the 'Fund For the Republic' and its lush \$15,000,000 of free cash from the Ford Foundation. I rather think that Mr. Henry Ford and his son, Edsel, would be turning over in their respective graves if they knew that the money they left to be spent for the public welfare and general good of the people is being expended as it is. And I would think also that Mr. T. Coleman Andrews, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, would be looking very carefully into this 'Fund For the Republic' and all of its activities to find out whether perhaps it is not just a political propaganda fund devoted to influencing the coming election."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information only.

✓

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7-1

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

DATE: September 1, 1955

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Sizoo	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

Irving Ferman of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) informed me on Thursday, August 25th, that the preceding week he had had lunch with W. H. "Ping" Ferry, who is actually running the Fund for the Republic. Ferman is very much disturbed because he has detected in Ferry what he considers the attributes of a "actionist" and he feels that the Fund for the Republic has now become a media for the dissemination of propaganda. He further stated that in his opinion there are more devious angles than have yet appeared. He estimates that Ferry is a very shrewd, calculating public relations man; that Ferry has anticipated obstacles that will come in his pathway and is deliberately developing his program and has taken into consideration the calculated risks involved. He stated that as an indication of Ferry's thinking, that in discussing the menace of Communism Ferry puts it in this way; namely, that the myth of the meance of Communism was created by those who have testified and captured the public eye, therefore, to destroy this myth, it is first necessary to destroy the witnesses. Ferman further quoted Ferry as stating that if you agree that Communism is a meance and threatens the free world, then you must inquire as to the basis for such belief and you will find it comes from testimony. Ferman stated that he has told numerous people of Ferry's activities and background and he believes that soon word will get around.

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont

LBN:ptm
(4)

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SEP 7 1955

ADDENDUM: LBN:fc, 9/1/55

Ferman reiterated what he had previously told me on the telephone, namely, that Ferry had told him he was looking around for a Catholic Law School to investigate the FBI and also was going to have an investigation made of the American Legion. Ferman could not remember whether Ferry had stated this action was approved by the Board of Directors or whether the Board had approved only the investigation of the American Legion.

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DATE 7-25-89 BY 2008 BJS/KG

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

MR. L. V. BOARDMAN *WB*

DATE: 9/2/55

FROM :

MR. A. H. BELMONT *AMBs*

SUBJECT:

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC. *X 10/4*

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

A comprehensive summary has been prepared on the captioned organization pursuant to the Director's request as noted in Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson of August 15, 1955.

You will recall that on that date Irving Ferman, Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, advised that W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund for the Republic, had told him the Fund for the Republic was going to have an investigation made of the FBI. Ferry stated that the Fund was now looking around for someone to undertake this investigation and added that they would like to have a good Catholic law school undertake the investigation. Ferry also stated that they planned an investigation into the activities of the American Legion. This information has been included in the attached summary on the Fund, its officers and projects. (Page 43)

ACTION:

This is for your information. The Liaison Section is following the Fund's activities very closely and will maintain a running memorandum concerning it.

ENCLOSURE *57*EFT:pyp
(9)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Holloman
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 -
- 1 - Yellow

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ACTION

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : L. V. BOARDMAN

DATE: September 1, 1955

FROM : A. H. BELMONT

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: ~~THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.~~
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York
1444 Wentworth Avenue
Pasadena 5, California

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Classified by *Mutiple Source*
Declassify on: OADR 873/08
7-25-89

A comprehensive summary on the captioned organization has been prepared pursuant to the Director's request as noted in Mr. Nichols' memorandum to Mr. Tolson of August 15, 1955. Although over eighty file checks have been conducted concerning personnel and projects authorized by the Fund, the report of the Fund for the Republic dated May 31, 1955, which has just recently been made public, contains the names of many individuals and organizations on which file checks are presently being conducted.

The Fund for the Republic has not been investigated by the Bureau. In view of this fact most of the information concerning its activities has been obtained from newspaper articles and publications of the Fund or by file checks concerning its officers and other individuals chosen to participate in the Fund's program.

BACKGROUND:

The Fund for the Republic was authorized by the Trustees of the Ford Foundation in October, 1951, and \$1,000,000 was appropriated for it at that time. The basis for the action of the Trustees was contained in a statement of their plans published in 1950:

"The Foundation will support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension." The Trustees of the Foundation said that the human welfare of man requires freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and freedom of association and that every person should be free from interference or harassment because of "non-conformity."

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DECLASSIFICATION
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)
DATE 03-02-2011

ENCLOSURE

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21 SEP 9 1955

Classification per OGA Letters dated: 2/14/11 (p166) .
3/7/2011 (p156)

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

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The Trustees of the Ford Foundation concluded that a separate, independent corporation should be established with directors chosen because of their interest in civil liberties and their ability to make a contribution to increasing understanding of these basic rights. It was understood that the directors of the new corporation to which a large lump-sum appropriation was to be made were to feel free to work out their own policies and to make such grants as they thought proper, without further reference to the Ford Foundation. Pursuant to these decisions, the Fund for the Republic was incorporated with a board of directors of its own in December, 1952. In February, 1953, the Ford Foundation appropriated \$14,000,000 additional for the Fund. At that time the Fund assumed a completely independent status and since that time the Fund has not asked the Foundation to approve its policies nor has the Foundation sought to exert influence over the Fund. The relation of the Fund to the Foundation is the same as that of any other independent beneficiary of the Foundation.

The ~~first~~ head of the Fund was Paul Hoffman, who acted as Chairman of its Board of Directors, and is still with the Fund in that capacity. Information concerning Hoffman will be set forth later in this memorandum. In May, 1953, the Fund elected its first president, Clifford P. Case, presently Republican Senator from New Jersey. In June, 1954, Robert M. Hutchins was chosen to succeed Case as President of the Fund. Information concerning Hutchins will be set forth later in this memorandum. (Report of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., 5-31-55)

OBJECTIVES:

According to the report of the Fund's President, Robert M. Hutchins, dated May 31, 1955, the objectives of the Fund are as follows: (1) The Fund expects to spend its principal as fast as can be judiciously done; it is not interested in scholarship as such nor concerned with general education; (2) the Fund desires to advance the understanding of civil liberties; (3) the Fund believes that the citizen should know what his rights are and what is happening to them and for this reason has used all the media of communication - radio, television, newspapers, magazines, records, and books to arouse interest in civil liberties and to encourage debate about them; (4) the Fund is dedicated to

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

remind Americans of the "American Dream" (freedom, the escape from tyranny - political, religious, economic, social) and to report on the state of freedom today. The Fund believes that the American people who must take a position on the matters set forth below, should be adequately informed about them and holds that it is an object of the Fund to help supply the "requisite" information.

The matters which the Fund believes need special attention are: (1) that a political party in this country has been identified with the "enemy" and those associated with it have come under suspicion as an imminent danger to the state; (2) that the range of suspected persons has been enormously extended by resort to guilt by association; (3) that evidence offered to show that man is a danger to American institutions has often been farcically remote; (4) the treatment of suspected persons in Congressional investigations and administrative hearings; (5) the propaganda that has tended to suppress non-conformity; (6) the political advantage gained by claiming others indifferent to the threat of Communism.

PROJECTS AND STUDIES SPONSORED BY
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC:

As of May 31, 1955, the Fund for the Republic had expended a total of \$2,514,738 of the \$15,000,000 originally received from the Ford Foundation. In addition to direct grants to organizations, the Fund has undertaken a number of projects that are being conducted by staff members or by persons under contract to the Fund. The majority of these projects and studies have been started since January, 1955, and a few of them are still in the planning stage.

Special Committee of the American Bar Association
on Individual Rights as Affected by National Security

At its first meeting in December, 1952, the Fund's Board of Directors authorized a \$50,000 grant to the American Bar Association (ABA) for the work of the captioned Committee. As its first project this Committee studied Congressional investigations and its recommendations for changes in Congressional investigative procedures were approved by the ABA House of Delegates on August 17, 1954. This Committee made recommendations that the jurisdiction

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

of each Congressional investigative committee should be clearly defined; that a majority of the committee should control its actions such as the choice of subject matter, appointment and dismissal of staff members, the issuance of subpoenas, the release of the contents of Congressional reports; that at least two members of a committee should conduct a hearing; that witnesses should be given adequate notice of hearings and should have the right to counsel which should be allowed to cross-examine adverse witnesses; that witnesses should be free to make brief written or oral statements and explain the answers, should be entitled to a transcript of the hearings, should have the right to testify without television or radio broadcasting, should be under oath, and should have certain additional rights in regard to executive hearings; that a person identified in testimony should be afforded the privilege of testifying in his own behalf or to file with the committee a sworn statement concerning such testimony; that the committee files should be treated as confidential; and that the leaders in Congress should constitute an ad hoc committee on Congressional investigations.

Committee on American Legacy

In May, 1953, the Fund's Board authorized \$30,500 for the creation of a study committee on the American Legacy under Stanley Pargellis of the Newberry Library in Chicago. In late 1953 this Committee recommended a study of the groups on the extreme right in this country and the Fund has since commissioned several studies on this topic. Bufile review concerning Pargellis fails to reflect any information concerning the work of this group. According to the Fund's report, recently released, \$106,700 was authorized in June, 1954, for research and planning of a study of extremist groups. The report and our files failed to indicate who is making this study.

~~Stanley Pargellis has not been investigated by the~~
Bureau. Pargellis was a Professor of American History, Scripps College, Claremont, California, 1939-1940, taught at Yale University, 1941-1942, and has been Director of Newberry Library in Chicago, Illinois, since 1943. Dr. Arnold J. Bergstraesser, subject of a closed Espionage-German file (1941-1944), advised Pargellis was a personal friend and frequent contact of his while both were Professors at Scripps College in 1939-1940 and during the Summer of 1941. Dr. Bergstraesser was apprehended as a German enemy alien on December 8, 1941, at Los Angeles,

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

California, was ordered released by the Attorney General on February 24, 1942, and was again apprehended on September 10, 1942, and ordered paroled on January 13, 1943. In 1951 the name "Pargellis, Stanley, Newberry Library, 60 W. Walton, Chicago, Ill.," appeared on the mailing list for the USSR Information Bulletin which is published by the Soviet Embassy on a bi-weekly basis. (65-19096-13, 84, 142; 100-353703-162, p. 61)

Studies of Communist Influence
In the United States

During June and November, 1953, the Fund Board authorized a total of \$550,000 for studies concerning the Communist influence in the United States. Information concerning these studies is set forth below.

Study of the Communist Record

The Fund granted \$64,500 for a study of public records concerning Communism under the direction of Professor Arthur E. Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. This study resulted in the publication of two books, "Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States" and "Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States." These two volumes were reviewed by the Central Research Section in June, 1955, and are being retained for the use of that Section. The "Bibliography" is devoted primarily to literature relating to Communism in the United States since the founding of the American Communist Party in 1919 and the "Digest," consisting of 753 pages, is a collection of abstracts of Federal, state and municipal laws, ordinances, hearings, reports and other public documents pertaining to Communism in the United States since 1919. Three articles written by the Director during the period 1948 - 1951 are listed in the author index of the "Bibliography" and the "Digest" contains references to the Director and the Bureau which are extracted from the Director's annual reports and his testimony before both the Senate and House Committees on Appropriations. Neither book contains any derogatory references to the Director or the Bureau. (100-391697-110)

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

Sutherland has not been investigated by the Bureau. In March, 1954, the Boston Division advised that Sutherland had inquired whether the Bureau could make available certain material to assist him with this project of the Fund for the Republic, which he described as "a factual record of Communist activities." No assistance was given to Sutherland inasmuch as existing Bureau policy precluded the Bureau from taking part in such a project. Upon being advised of this request the Director noted "While Sutherland may be alright and sound, I have grave doubts as to final outcome of the report since it would have to be cleared by Ford Foundation. H." (100-391697-35)

Study of Attitudes Toward
Communism and Civil Liberties

In January, 1955, the Fund announced that it had granted \$185,500 for a survey of American attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties under the leadership of Professor Samuel A. Stouffer of Harvard University. The results of this survey are reflected in Stouffer's book "Communism, Conformity and Civil Liberties," which was published in April, 1955, and has been reviewed by the Central Research Section. This book reflected that the author found no evidence that the country is concerned about either the threat of Communism or the dangers to civil liberties. The author suggests that "if the internal Communist threat is now exaggerated, and if the American people were told this and believed it, tolerance of nonconformists would increase." Stouffer stated that his survey disclosed that the American public would "especially respect" the opinion of the Director on how to handle Communists in the United States over any other public figure and that "even if public confidence in the FBI is quite high, we have evidence that there is room for improvement in that confidence." Other references to the Bureau refer generally to the opinion that the Bureau has the Communist problem under control. (100-407113-18)

An applicant investigation conducted of Stouffer at the request of the Attorney General in 1936 developed no derogatory information. He was the subject of a Loyalty of Government Employees investigation initiated in May, 1952, in connection with his application for a position as Consultant with the Department of Air Force. Investigation was completed in August, 1952,

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

and reports furnished to the Civil Service Commission on September 3, 1952. Investigation revealed no evidence of membership in the Communist Party or cited organizations by Stouffer, but did indicate association with alleged Communists and pro-Communists and with Communist-infiltrated organizations. Stouffer was the subject of a Security Matter-C investigation opened in November, 1953, and closed in May, 1954. He is not on the Security Index. Reports of this investigation were disseminated to G-2 as received. G-2 advised on December 4, 1953, that Stouffer had been denied clearance to classified information by the Eastern Industrial Personnel Security Board. On appeal on March 1, 1954, clearance was granted. (100-407113-14,15)

On May 2, 1955, Mr. Neil Wettermann, an official of the Protect America League of Greater Cincinnati, advised that Stouffer's book was being disseminated to United States District Court Judges with the compliments of the Fund for the Republic and that it was the opinion of the Federal District Judge who turned this book over to him that if it were read by judges who heard cases involving Communists they could easily sway the opinion of these judges to be lenient on the Communists. This information, as well as information concerning Stouffer and his study, was furnished to the Attorney General by memoranda dated January 10, 1955, and May 27, 1955. (100-407113-14; 100-391697-98)

Study of Communist Influence
In American Life

In November, 1953, the Fund authorized \$300,000 for an account of Communist influence in the major segments of United States society. This program was publicly announced in January, 1955, at which time Clinton L. Rossiter, Cornell University, was chosen as its director. In an article in the February 17, 1955, issue of the "Cornell Daily Sun," Ithaca, New York, Rossiter noted the need for securing experts in particular fields, but not necessarily experts on Communism, to write for this survey. He stated that he felt the project could best be done by men who have, for the most part, stayed out of controversy over Communism and McCarthyism. Rossiter said that he believed it was best not to employ, as writers, former members of the Communist Party who had been intimately connected with the particular fields of study and who have subsequently deserted the Party. Rossiter noted, however, that ex-Communists would be extremely useful as sources of material, but that he felt it would be unwise to use them as the main figures in the project. (100-391697-65,76)

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

Clinton Rossiter has not been investigated by the Bureau.

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[redacted] (cited by the Attorney General). Summaries concerning Rossiter and others assisting in this study were furnished to the Attorney General on January 28, 1955, and March 10, 1955. (100-391697-65,76)

Set forth below are the topics of study to be included in this project. Following the topic of study is the name of the individual conducting the study for the Fund. Also set forth below are pertinent data contained in previous summaries concerning these individuals and the file references where these summaries are located.

History of the Communist Party in the United States (1919-1945): Theodore Draper, New York, New York

Bufiles are presently being reviewed concerning Draper; however, an informant of unknown reliability reported on March 24, 1955, that Theodore Draper, who is assisting in this study, has had extensive interviews with Earl Browder, former General Chairman, Communist Party, USA, and that Browder has furnished him with much valuable information. This informant advised that the Fund for the Republic had contacted Browder to use his services as a consultant for the comprehensive history of the American Communist Party; and that Browder was concerned about the compensation he is to receive, as he feels he will be used for only a short time and that it will curtail the sale of books Browder is writing if he gives all his information to others. On May 10, 1955, the informant reported that Browder had been cooperative with Draper to the extent that he will talk about Communist theory but that Browder will not give any specific information regarding the Communist Party movement or about individuals in it. Another informant who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on April 6, 1955, that Browder has some sort of small assignment, lasting three months or so, from the Fund for the Republic. [redacted] keep in strict confidence [redacted] received info from Philip Jaffe, Browder's principal advisor; 40-3798-724, 728; sent to AG 4-1-55; Bella Dodd, former admitted CP member; 40-3798-731)

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

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Communism and Anti-Communism (1945-1956):
David Shannon, Teachers College, Columbia University,
New York, New York

No pertinent identifiable information in Bufiles could be located concerning Shannon on January 24, 1955.

Communism in the Labor Movement
Daniel Bell, "Fortune" magazine
New York, New York

Bell, who has not been investigated by the Bureau, has long been a student of American Communism and Socialism. He was editor of "The New Leader," a Socialist publication, from 1941 to 1944. Bell was reported by a member of "The New Leader" staff as having almost encyclopedic information concerning individuals who had been prominent in liberal movements. In 1943 and 1944 Bell spoke at rallies protesting the jailing of eighteen individuals who were members of the Socialist Workers Party (cited by Attorney General). In 1946 he was active in a movement to organize a third party reportedly to be under the influence of the Socialist Party. In his speeches and writings Bell has criticized the Communist Party and Communist front groups. (Summary 1-9-55, 100-391697-65)

Communism and Religion
Ralph Lord Roy, Union Theological Seminary,
New York, New York;
Paul A. Carter, Instructor of History,
Columbia University

Neither Roy nor Carter have been investigated by the Bureau. The February 25, 1955, issue of "The Washington Post and Times-Herald" contained a letter to the editor signed by Roy and Carter which announced that they were preparing a study on Communism and the Churches sponsored by the Fund. In this letter they invited persons with either "documented evidence of actual Communist attempts to infiltrate the churches or make use of clergymen" or with "examples of false and irresponsible charges of Communist influence on religion in America" to communicate with

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

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them at 500 West 122nd Street, New York 27, New York. On February 13, 1955, Roy sent a letter to the Bureau in which he put himself on record as having subscribed to the "Daily Worker," east coast Communist newspaper, and having had it sent to his home address. He stated that such a step was made necessary by his continued research in the field of Communism and the churches and added that this project might bring him into contact with other publications, organizations and individuals, directly or indirectly, connected with the Communist Party. Roy also stated that his own anti-Communist position was on record in his book "Apostles of Discord," published in August, 1953, by Beacon Press in Boston. (Summary 3-3-55; 100-391697-74)

Communism in Government
Earl Ganson Latham, Amherst College,
Amherst, Massachusetts

Investigation of Latham as applicant for the Bureau in 1931 and under Loyalty of the Employees of the United Nations program in 1954 developed no derogatory information other than the fact that he might have been an illegitimate child. (Summary 1-18-55; 100-391697-65, P. 10)

Communism and Education
Robert Iversen, Drake University,
Des Moines, Iowa

No pertinent identifiable information concerning Iversen was located in Bufiles as of January 24, 1955.

Communism and the Arts
Donald Drew Egbert, Princeton University,
Princeton, New Jersey

Egbert has not been investigated by the Bureau. His book "Socialism and American Life," published in 1952, sets forth names, organizations and historical background on various forms of Socialism and Communism in the United States. (Summary 3-8-55; 100-391697-75, 76)

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

Communism and Literature
Daniel Aaron, Smith College,
North Hampton, Massachusetts

Aaron has not been investigated by the Bureau, however, his brother, David, was the subject of a Security Matter-C investigation, opened September 20, 1948, and closed May 18, 1951. In 1951, David Aaron admitted to Bureau Agents that he had been a member of the Communist Party. Since that time he has been a source of information for the San Diego Office. In 1938 one Daniel Aaron, a faculty member at Harvard University, was reported to have suggested that a petition be circulated requesting the extension of a teaching contract for a teacher alleged to be a Communist Party member. (Summary, 1-19-55, 100-391697-65)

Communism and the Mass Media
Moshe Decter
New York, New York

Decter was investigated in December, 1950, and January, 1951, as an applicant for the State Department (Voice of America). His name, in 1952, was in the possession of an individual who corresponded regularly with various persons concerning the Independent Socialist League. (Cited by the Attorney General.) In April, 1953, an associate described Decter as extremely liberal and in 1954 another associate stated that Decter was sympathetic toward Communism. He is a coauthor of the book "McCarthy and the Communists," which is very critical of Senator McCarthy, his methods, and the results obtained by his investigations. (Summary 1-18-55; 100-391697-65)

Communism and the Social Structure
Nathan Glazer, Editor of Doubleday and Company
New York, New York

No identifiable information was located in Bufiles concerning Glazer as of March 8, 1955. (100-391697)

Communism and Science
Donald Fleming, Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

No pertinent identifiable information was located in Bufiles concerning Fleming as of January 24, 1955. (100-391697-65)

Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

Communism and Opinion-Making Groups
John P. Roche, Haverford College,
Haverford, Pennsylvania

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No pertinent identifiable information was located in Bufiles concerning Roche as of January 24, 1955. ["The New Leader," a Socialist publication, of August 22, 1955, contains an article by Roche entitled "I'm Sick of Conservatism; It's Irrelevant to Today's America." In this article Roche, describing himself as a conformist at heart, stated that while working on an incisive, scholarly analysis of "The Essential Conservatism of the Industrial Workers of the World," he suddenly got tired of conservatism and anti-conservatism. Roche described Clinton Rossiter's book "Conservatism in America" as well worth reading, stating that what Rossiter is really writing about is not conservatism in America but the civilized tradition in America, a vastly different subject. Roche states that Rossiter advocates what is commonly called the liberal tradition and that "a practical consequence of reading this book would be to vote for Adlai Stevenson and Clifford Case and against those of the extremes who wish sudden radical changes in the American social, economic, or political system." The Industrial Workers of the World has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.]

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

Special Committee on the Federal Loyalty-Security Program of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York

In November, 1954, the Fund Board authorized the grant of \$100,000.00 to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York Fund, Inc., for a study of the Federal loyalty-security program. Concerning the necessity for this Committee, Hutchins stated in the Fund's report, "It is alleged that the rights of individuals have been sacrificed to the demands of national security, that these demands are fantastically effective, and that national security has not in fact been promoted by the measures adopted in its name." He stated that in view of the frequent requests for a private committee to make "dispassionate appraisal" of the security program, the Fund had undertaken to finance such a committee.

An article in the December 22, 1954, issue of "The New York Times" announced that the Fund's grant to the Association of the Bar of the City of New York for the appointment of a special committee to examine the Federal loyalty-security program was considered by Robert Hutchins and W. H. Ferry, the Fund's President and Vice President, as "The No. 1 priority problem in the Fund's field." This article stated that preliminary research had already been started by several Fund employees and that the results of this research would be made available to the new committee. (62-102013-2)

A check of Bufiles concerning the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and its officers made during January, 1955, revealed that it is a reputable association of New York City lawyers which has not been investigated by the Bureau. None of its officers for the year 1955 have been investigated. According to the minutes of a Loyalty Review Board meeting held in 1949, Association Vice President George W. Alger, a member of the United States Loyalty Review Board, 1948-53, was critical of FBI reports stating, "Mr. Shattuck (a member of the Board) and I spent an entire week wasting our time informing the Attorney General that on looking through the entire record there wasn't anything to this miserable FBI stuff." While a member of the Board, Alger submitted a memorandum in the William Walter Remington loyalty case, favorable to Remington, in which he stated, "I do not find anything in the Remington case that affords any justification for the decision made against him. I think we should advise against his removal." (summary 1/7/55; 62-102013-3)

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"The New York Times" of March 1, 1951, reported the selection of seven members of this special committee to study the Federal loyalty-security program. This committee was to be headed by Dudley B. Bonsal, a New York attorney, who is Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Institute of International Education. The other members, all attorneys, were Henry J. Friendly, Vice President and General Counsel of Pan American World Airways; Harold M. Kennedy, former Federal Judge who is a good friend of the Bureau; Monte M. Lemann, New Orleans; John O'Melveny, Los Angeles, Vice President and Director of Bing Crosby Enterprises, Inc.; George Roberts, former Chairman of the Association's Bill of Rights Committee; and Whitney North Seymour, past President of the Association and head of a special American Bar Association Committee on individual rights in 1954.

The results of Bufile checks on these individuals reflected subversive derogatory information concerning only Monte Lemann and Whitney North Seymour, neither of which has been investigated by the FBI. Lemann was a sponsor of two cited organizations in the 1940's and in 1951 he advised that he withdrew from these organizations on learning that they were subversive. Bufiles reveal information concerning Seymour's affiliation with five cited organizations during the period from 1936 to 1942. Seymour was appointed to a special committee on Conscientious Objectors formed by the American Civil Liberties Union in 1940 and was suggested as a possible attorney to handle the appeal of the 11 Communist Party National Board members by the Supreme Court in 1950. The results of Bufile checks concerning the above individuals were furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated March 7, 1955. (summaries 3/3 and 3/7/55; 62-102013-5)

On April 28, 1955, John Lindsay, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General, advised that Dudley Bonsal had previously been in contact with the Attorney General relative to this committee's study of the various Federal security laws and that the Attorney General had agreed to give the special committee whatever material help the Justice Department could afford.

Mr. Lindsay advised that Elliott Evans Cheatham, a professor at Columbia Law School since 1929, had been chosen as Executive Director of the special committee. A summary furnished the Attorney General concerning Cheatham dated May 3, 1955, reflects that in 1934

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Cheatham employed as a Research Assistant, Benjamin Goldring, who later went to Spain at the expense of the Communist Party to fight in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (cited by the Attorney General). In 1943 Cheatham wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, Washington, D. C., in which he stated in part as follows:

"In short, my impression is that Mr. Goldring is an unusually able and competent young lawyer with leftist sympathies. I may add that I trust his left-wing sympathies will not be deemed to disqualify him for a position of responsibility during the war. It would be unfortunate, so I believe, to the position of the Army in our national life and to immediate national unity, if the radicals and left wingers believed that they could not have an equal opportunity in our armed forces. The responsibility, I realize, lies with the forces to determine how and where each man can best be used."

A special inquiry was made concerning the degree of Cheatham's association with Goldring in March, 1954, at the request of Deputy Attorney General Rogers, who advised that Cheatham was being considered to serve on a Board of Special Inquiry of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Cheatham was interviewed by Bureau Agents and advised that his association with Goldring was a student-teacher relationship and that he had not seen Goldring since about 1945. (summary 5/3/55; 77-61265-7)

The Fund's report dated May 31, 1955, also lists Richard Bentley, with the Chicago Law Firm of Tenney, Sherman, Bentley, and Guthrie; and Frederick M. Bradley, with the Washington, D. C., Law Firm of Hogan and Hartson, as members of this special committee on the Federal loyalty-security program. File checks on these individuals are currently being made.

Studies of Loyalty-Security Programs

In June, 1954, the Fund authorized the expenditure of \$100,000.00 for case studies, research, publication, and other work about loyalty-security questions. In the report of Fund's President of May 31, 1955, Hutchins noted that lawyers defending employees involved in the loyalty-security program have been handicapped by the lack of compilations of laws and regulations and by the absence of a legal reference service. Therefore, the Fund obtained from

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Professor Ralph S. Brown, Jr., and Sandra Weinstein, of the Yale Law School, a statement of the laws and regulations. The Fund has entered into an agreement with the Bureau of National Affairs, a publishing company in Washington, whereby the company will start a reference service that will note changes in these laws and regulations and keep track of the decisions of courts and administrative tribunals.

Brown, Jr., was coauthor of an article in the July, 1953, "Yale Law School Journal," which attacked the Port Security Program and criticized the Coast Guard Screening Board for relying on confidential informants of the FBI whose identities are not revealed. No identifiable information was located concerning Weinstein in Bufiles as of January 5, 1955. (summary on Ralph Sharpe Brown, Jr., 1/5/55; 62-102013-3)

Case Studies in Personnel Security

One of the programs authorized under this grant was a collection of case histories concerning Federal and industrial security cases. This program, which was begun on December 6, 1954, was conducted under the leadership of Adam Yarmolinsky, Washington, D. C., attorney, and the case material collected was to be made available for eventual review by the special committee appointed by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Yarmolinsky was assisted by an Advisory Committee consisting of the following lawyers, all of Washington, D. C.: Roger D. Fisher and Paul C. Warnke, with Covington and Burling; Leon Lipson, with Cleary, Gottlieb, Friendly, and Ball; and Herbert L. Packer, with Cox, Langford, Stoddard, and Cutler. The December 22, 1954, issue of "The New York Times" reported that this "fact-finding" study was expected to take about six months and to describe 100 to 200 Federal and industrial cases on a country-wide cross section. A 310-page booklet, published in August, 1955, by the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., Washington, D. C., relates the history of 50 personnel security cases collected under this program. This booklet also lists the identities of 113 individuals, in addition to those listed above, who participated in the nationwide program of interviewing attorneys with experience in loyalty-security cases. An article in the August 15, 1955, issue of "The Washington Post and Times Herald" announced that this booklet of 50 case histories, issued with the employees' consent but with identifications deleted, had been released

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to the public on that date and that examples of some of the case histories would be published in subsequent articles. A memorandum from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Rosen dated August 24, 1955, reflects that this booklet was reviewed by the Employees Security Section in an attempt to identify the cases mentioned therein, none of which were readily identifiable. This memorandum set forth ways in which the employees mentioned might possibly be identified. The following pertinent information was contained in the referenced memorandum:

"The sources for the material set forth in the booklet are the employees concerned, their attorneys, the written charges, the employees' responses, the transcript of the hearings. In the introduction to the booklet, Yarmolinsky states the histories are incomplete because the Government files were not released to the employees and likewise were not available to Yarmolinsky's 'interviewers,' who assisted in gathering the material. The booklet is said to be a preliminary report and the 50 cases set out in the booklet were taken from a current total of 230 cases. It is contemplated that histories of some 250 to 300 cases will eventually be obtained.

"Generally, the histories in the booklet begin with the issuance of interrogatories or interviews of the employees by the employing agencies. They continue through the final dispositions made of the cases. The histories purport to be factual accounts of the charges involved and the adjudication activity in the cases. No expressed criticism of the handling of these cases is stated by the author and the booklet leaves it to the reader to draw his own conclusions as to whether the cases were properly handled. As the histories deal primarily with the adjudication of the cases, references in the booklet to the Bureau are of a secondary nature, such as, the Bureau's description of the reliability of a confidential informant and the results of a previous interview of an employee by the Bureau. The table of contents of the booklet reflects that 31 of the histories involve civilian employees of the Government; 15 concern industrial employees; 2 relate to military personnel; 1 pertains to a seaman 'screened' under the Coast Guard Screening Board; and 1 concerns an international organization employee. The identities of the employees are not stated and data which would facilitate ready identification of them has not been included."

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By memorandum dated June 15, 1955, the Attorney General was furnished a copy of a memorandum signed by W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund, which set forth information concerning methods to be used in collecting these case histories, the type of information to be included in the Fund's reports, the planned distribution of these reports, and the general outline to be followed by Fund employees in collecting these case histories. (100-391697-113, 116)

Of the individuals connected with this program, summary memoranda have been prepared on only Adam Yarmolinsky and Herbert L. Packer. Information concerning Packer is set forth on pages 25 and 26 of this summary. Pertinent portions of a summary memorandum prepared on June 6, 1955, concerning Yarmolinsky are set forth below:

"Yarmolinsky has not been investigated.

(C) Yarmolinsky was former law clerk of Supreme Court

(C) Justice Stanley F. Reed. [Yarmolinsky reported [redacted]

(C) [redacted] to have been active in campus chapter of American Youth for Democracy (AYD) while at Harvard University, 1940-42.] (AYD not formed until 1943)

(C) [redacted] X b1
[redacted] Yarmolinsky's name appeared on several lists of youth and college groups secured in 1941 and 1942 from trash covers on Communists and Communist front organizations. In August, 1942, Yarmolinsky spoke at a youth rally attended by over 90 per cent Young Communist Leaguers but was greeted with icy silence. In December, 1944, Yarmolinsky applying for position with Office of Strategic Services made statement that he resigned from Harvard Student Union in 1940 when he discovered it was Communist dominated and that he attended American Youth Congress in June or July, 1941, as hostile observer. March 18, 1946, "Daily Worker,"

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classified Yarmolinsky as Red baiter on National Planning Committee of American Veterans Committee. Yarmolinsky's parents, Avrahm and Babette (Deutsch) have not been investigated by Bureau but have been active in some Communist fronts. [Sometime between 1930 and 1936, Avrahm Yarmolinsky, born in Russia and Chief of Slavonic Division, New York City Public Library, was reportedly called 'Comrade' by Soviet lawyer. Lawyer reported Yarmolinsky was Chief liaison between Soviet representatives and emissaries in this country.] In 1948 one informant (not identified) alleged Avrahm Yarmolinsky was Communist fellow traveler but it was better for him not to be Communist Party member since he would be more valuable in his position. (X)

"A Washington City News Service release dated 6/3/55 reported that Yarmolinsky, Attorney for the Fund for the Republic, was critical of the Administration's Security Program in defense plants, stating that it has 'serious defects' and lacks 'common sense standards.' Yarmolinsky spoke at a Conference on Personnel Security Programs in United States Industry held on 6/3/55 in Washington, D. C., and sponsored by the Washington chapters of the Industrial Relations Research Association and the American Political Science Association. He stated his assertion was based on a survey of Federal security methods which his organization had been making and that his studies showed a lack of 'effective system to weed out gossip, slander and arrant nonsense' from charges brought against individual employees." (summaries 12-30-54 and 6-6-55; 62-102103-2; 62-101860-2)

With reference to this study, an informant who has furnished this Bureau reliable information in the past reported that on August 8, 1955, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, he met Jack Sartisky, a District No. 5, Communist Party underground board member; Hyman Schlesinger, a Pittsburgh attorney who regularly

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represents Communist Party members; and an unidentified male, an attorney representing the Ford Foundation, who was in Pittsburgh to gather facts and figures concerning the discharge of Government employees due to being security risks. The informant stated that the unidentified attorney indicated that such facts and figures as are gathered will be submitted to the United States Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights headed by Senator William Langer of North Dakota. This attorney also indicated that the Ford Foundation contemplates using \$2,000,000.00 in its fight for protection of constitutional rights. [REDACTED]

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Both Sartisky and Schlesinger are maintained in the Security Index. By airtel dated August 23, 1955, Pittsburgh advised that the informant had attempted to learn the identity of the unknown attorney without success. This information was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated August 26, 1955.

Blacklisting in the Entertainment Industry

In September, 1954, the Fund authorized \$100,000.00 for a study of blacklisting in the motion picture, radio, and television industries. The Director of this study is John Cogley, former Executive Editor of "Commonweal," a lay Catholic magazine. His principal assistant is Michael Harrington, the subject of a pending Security Matter-ISL* investigation, New York origin, initiated in March, 1954. (Bufile 100-411915) Harrington is not in the Security Index. He attended the National Convention of the Independent Socialist League (cited by the Attorney General) in September, 1954. The file review concerning Harrington has not yet been completed. As of February 21, 1955, at which time this study first came to the Bureau's attention, no pertinent information concerning John Cogley could be located in our files. (100-391697-67)

Paul Jacobs, a Hollywood, California, representative on this survey, is the subject of a closed Security Matter-C investigation (100-401403) conducted in 1953. Information concerning Jacobs was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated February 21, 1955. Set forth below is information contained in Bufiles concerning Jacobs:

*Independent Socialist League

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In interviews he admitted activity in Young Communist League (YCL) in 1933-1934 until expelled for Trotskyite activities, was Trotskyite for about a year, and stated he brought Susan B. Anthony II, who later turned Communist, into Socialist Party. In signed statement Anthony stated he tried to recruit her into Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1937. Jacobs was subscriber to "Daily Peoples World" (1948) and "New International," (1952) official organ of Independent Socialist League (ISL). In July, 1949, he was member of Southern California James Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, an organization sponsored by the SWP. (The YCL, SWP, and ISL have been cited by the Attorney General.) At forum in March, 1951, Jacobs stated only way to combat Communist infiltration was to be vigilant, work hard, and study how and where Communists operate. In speech on March 14, 1953, he criticized FBI investigations stating, "They do their job of investigating but not very well." He also criticized FBI's use of wire tapping; complained that Gus Hall, Communist Party leader convicted in New York City in 1949, had not been afforded his constitutional rights when dragged across the border; told those filling out loyalty oaths to admit past affiliation with cited groups and criticized House Committee on Un-American Activities investigations for depriving private citizens of employment. (100-391697-67)

On May 16, 1955, the Bureau received a copy of a letter that Cogley sent throughout the country asking questions on the reaction of advertising sponsors to the retention of artists who have been connected with Communist front organizations. Answers to the following questions were to be used in the Fund's study:

- (1) Does your organization hold that certain political criteria should be met by artists whom you engage?
- (2) If such criteria are to be met, does your organization leave the application of them to the advertising agency and network or does it take an active interest?
- (3) Is it your experience that the employment of "controversial" personalities hurts the sale of products?
- (4) Are you satisfied with the way the question has been handled to date?

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This letter also stated that aside from specific answers to these questions, the Fund would be very grateful for any other comments that the advertising sponsors might have. Concerning these questions, the Director noted, "Note stress on 'political' when subversion and Communism is not political but a criminal movement to destroy by force and violence the Govt. of the U.S. H." (100-391697-96)

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Fear In Education:

In September, 1954, the Fund authorized \$150,000 for a study of fear among college and high school teachers. This study was publicly announced by Hutchins on January 23, 1955, at which time he stated that the study would be conducted by Paul Lazarsfeld, Chairman of the Columbia University Sociology Department, assisted by Louis Harris, partner of Elmo Roper and Associates. Concerning the reasons for this study, Hutchins in his report as President of the Fund dated May 31, 1955, states "it is widely believed that teachers in schools, colleges, and universities have been intimidated by pressure groups and by the atmosphere resulting from the Cold War." The Fund's report reflects that Lazarsfeld's investigation will first deal with attitudes of college and university teachers and then with those of high school teachers and that it is expected that the first part of this study will be completed in the Autumn of 1955.

As of January 25, 1955, Bufiles contained no pertinent identifiable information concerning Louis Harris. (100-391697-62)

By memorandum dated January 27, 1955, the Attorney General was advised concerning the above study and furnished a summary of information in our files concerning Lazarsfeld. Lazarsfeld was investigated in 1942 as an applicant, Office for Emergency Management; and in 1951 as an applicant for State Department (Voice of America). Reports of prior investigations were furnished the Civil Service Commission on June 21, 1954, as Lazarsfeld was to be employed for 90 days with the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO). The International Organizations Employees Security Board advised on November 3, 1954, that a favorable advisory loyalty determination had been forwarded to UNESCO. Investigation of Lazarsfeld reflected that in 1945 he took part in the Writers Congress sponsored by the League of American Writers (cited by the Attorney General); his name was on a list, furnished by an informant who has furnished reliable information in the past, of persons attending the Writers Congress who were considered to be either Communists or followers of the Party line; he was reported to be

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associated with three other organizations described as pro-Communist; in 1945 he spoke with Earl Browder, former Communist Party official, at a forum sponsored by the Newspaper Guild of New York; and in 1950 he cancelled a summer teaching appointment at the University of California in protest against the Regent's loyalty oath compromise. (Summary 1/25/55; 100-391697-62)

The Fund's report of May 31, 1955, previously mentioned, lists the following as the Advisory Committee on this project:

Samuel A. Stouffer, concerning whom information is set forth on pages 6 and 7 of this summary.

Frank Stanton, President of the Columbia Broadcasting System, concerning whom an applicant investigation conducted for the Office for Emergency Management in 1942 developed no derogatory information. The Bureau protested to Stanton regarding an inaccurate and unfavorable portrayal of the Bureau's activities and its Agent personnel on a CBS television program in September, 1950. Stanton expressed regrets to the Bureau concerning this incident. Stanton and Lazarsfeld also took part in a survey of attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties headed by Stouffer. (Summary 1/11/55; 62-60527-41248)

Marie Jahoda, Professor of Psychology, New York University.

Helen M. Lynd, Professor of Social Philosophy, Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York. (File checks on these individuals have not been completed.)

Commission on Race and Housing:

In November, 1954, the Fund authorized a \$100,000 grant to the captioned group to make a nationwide survey of the housing of minority groups. The July 18, 1955 weekly bulletin of "Feature Press Service," published by the American Civil Liberties Union, reported that this Commission will

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study the difficulties of all minority groups in obtaining adequate private and public housing with particular attention to problems of Negroes in large metropolitan areas, and make recommendations to the public based on its findings.

The Commission is made up of 17 businessmen and educators. Inasmuch as this article identified only the Commission's Chairman Earl B. Schwulst, President and Chairman of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York City, file checks are still to be completed concerning the other 16 members of the Commission as listed on pages 19 and 20 of the Fund's report. Schwulst has not been investigated by the Bureau and a review of our files reveals no derogatory information concerning him. (Summary 8/11/55; 100-391697-130)

Analysis of Testimony Relative to Communism:

On April 25, 1955, the Bureau received information that the Deans of the Georgetown University Law School had been contacted by the Fund and requested to conduct a research study looking into the reliability of certain Government witnesses used in security-type cases such as Elizabeth T. Bentley, Louis F. Budenz, and Whittaker Chambers. This study was reportedly to be based upon the public record looking toward any inconsistencies in their testimony. On May 27, 1955, information was received that Georgetown University had definitely turned down this project. (100-391697-85, 101)

In May, 1955, the Fund authorized a grant of \$25,000 to the Stanford University School of Law for an analysis of the testimonies of leading witnesses in proceedings relative to Communism. On August 22, 1955, it was announced that this study will be directed by Herbert L. Packer (also on Advisory Committee on Case Studies in Personnel Security mentioned previously), a member of the New York and Supreme Court Bars, who will work in Washington until January 1, 1956, and then as a member of the Stanford faculty. A review of Bufiles concerning Packer on August 22, 1955, revealed that no investigation has been conducted and no derogatory information concerning

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him. Packer is a member of the law firm of Cox, Langford, Stoddard, and Cutler, 1625 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

A summary memorandum dated June 7, 1954, concerning Packer, Lloyd N. Cutler, and Charles Horsky, Washington lawyers, who had submitted a critical analysis of the two bills authorizing wire tapping to the Senate Judiciary, contains derogatory information concerning two of the members of Packer's law firm, Cutler and Oscar Cox. (62-12114-2823)

In their analysis of the wire tapping bill already passed by the House (H.R. 8649) and Senator McCarran's bill (S. 3229) the three lawyers made these principal points:

That any wire tapping authorization should prohibit editing or other alteration of the recording, and should require that whenever any wire tapping evidence is introduced in court, the complete record should be made available to the defendant; that the House bill is so loosely drawn that years of litigation would be required "to clarify its ambiguities"; that the House bill fails to provide for procedural safeguards for fair trials; that the McCarran bill would more carefully protect civil liberties because it is not retroactive, it requires that authorization order must come from the Federal Judge in the district where the wire tap is to be made, thereby, discouraging shopping around and it sets a time limit on wire tapping. These provisions of the McCarran bill were not included in the House bill. ("New York Times" 5/28/54; 62-12114-2823)

Information concerning Packer and this project has been furnished to the Attorney General by memoranda dated April 29, June 2, and August 25, 1955. (100-391697-85, 101)

Information in Bufiles concerning Carl B. Spaeth, Dean of the Stanford University School of Law since 1946, but on leave since 1952 to serve as Director, Division of Overseas Activities of Ford Foundation, is set forth in Mr. Jones' memorandum to Mr. Nichols dated August 19, 1955. Pertinent information concerning Spaeth is briefly set forth below:

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Bureau conducted Special Inquiry-type investigation concerning Spaeth in October, 1940, and it was entirely favorable. While serving as U.S. representative on Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense of Latin-American Republics, Spaeth had frequent contact with Legal Attaches in South America. We had considerable difficulty with him inasmuch as he consistently attempted to inject the Committee into matters concerning security that did not concern the Committee and were in the province of the FBI. He was critical of FBI at various times and made statements which were not true.

During 1945 and 1946 while in Washington, Spaeth was in frequent contact both as a State Department representative and on a personal basis with subjects of the Gregory case such as Maurice Halperin, Joseph Gregg, and Robert T. Miller, III. Investigation, however, did not involve Spaeth in the Gregory case. Spaeth interviewed by Agents of San Francisco Office, November, 1947, regarding friendship with Alger Hiss. Admitted he knew Hiss intimately but stated he had no knowledge of Communist activities on part of Hiss. In 1952, Spaeth utilized one Harold Isaacs as an unofficial assistant. Harold Isaacs, journalist, who headed pro-Communist periodical in China, is subject of Internal Security - R case.

Dissemination of Propaganda Concerning
Subjects of Interest to the Fund:

The Fund has authorized a total of \$718,150 for television of subjects of interest to the Fund, for editorial award competition, and distribution of publications. These projects include:

- (1) \$200,000 authorized in September, 1954, for production of pilot films and for participation in television programs of interest to the Fund.

Information concerning this program was received in a letter from Ozzie Glover and Gene L. Coon, newspapermen employed by Ozzie Glover Productions, Los Angeles, California, a commercial newsreel organization. The correspondents

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stated that the Fund for the Republic pays for the production and distribution of film clips of news stories which it considers to fall within the scope of its announced objectives, which are to promote constitutional civil liberties and combat racial and religious discrimination.

The correspondents also listed some of the stories which they have covered for the Fund for the Republic. These stories include a film shot on Armed Forces Day in Long Beach, California, when a pacifist group staged an antiwar demonstration as the Armed Forces Day parade was in progress; a story on a Long Beach traffic judge who announced that accused traffic violators were not getting fair treatment in most traffic courts; a story on two employees of the Costa Mesa school systems who were released because of membership in the American Civil Liberties Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation; a story on alleged segregation of colored and Mexican children in the El Centro school system; and a story of a Superior Court ruling in Los Angeles that churches do not have to sign a loyalty oath to obtain tax exemption.

(Summary to Attorney General 6/3/55; 100-391697-107)

(2) \$200,000 authorized in May, 1955, for a television series featuring "Herblock" (Herbert Lawrence Block) cartoonist of "The Washington Post and Times Herald." This paper on August 20, 1955, reported that the program would be filmed for a total of 26 weeks and it was expected that it would start early in October. The series of television programs is to include a commentary on current events by Herblock and will include several of his drawings. The Fund said that the series will be made available to both local and national sponsors. The files are currently being checked concerning Herbert Lawrence Block.

(3) \$75,000 authorized in December, 1954, for awards for outstanding original drama and documentary scripts on civil liberties themes.

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(4) \$65,000 authorized in May, 1955, for awards for outstanding dramatic and documentary television shows already on the air.

(5) \$100,000 authorized in September, 1954, for awards to publications for distinguished contributions on topics of interest to the Fund.

Little is known concerning these latter three projects and it is noted that the Fund's report indicates that as of May 31, 1955, very little of the authorized money for these projects had been spent.

Pages 41 and 42 of the "Report of the Fund for the Republic" contain a list of books, articles, and other material which are being distributed by the Fund. The following materials are listed by title, author, source, number distributed and the main audiences to which they were circulated:

"Banned Books" by Anne Lyon Haight. Book. 275 distributed to May 31. Librarians and library trustees. (Bureau library)

"Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists." Special issue on loyalty-security. 25,000 copies. Lists selected by publisher. (April, 1955) 100-361102-67

"Cornell Series in Civil Liberties." Books. Cornell University Press. Fund personnel; lists selected by publisher.

"Faceless Informers and Our Schools" by Lawrence Martin. Pamphlet. "Denver Post." 25,000 copies. State School Board Associations. (62-93875-2657)

"Freedom Award Speeches." Pamphlet. Freedom House. 600 copies. National Civil Liberties Clearing House.

"Government by Investigation" by Alan Barth. Book 850 copies. Lists selected by publisher. (Bureau library)

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- "Grand Inquest" by Telford Taylor. Book. 450 copies.
Federal Bench. (Bureau library)
- "Open Occupancy Housing. Article. "House and Home."
15,000 copies. National Committee against Discrimina-
tion in Housing; others in race relations field.
- "See It Now." Television program on book censorship
in California. Five 16 mm. prints. Southern California
civic groups.
- "See It Now." Murrow-Oppenheimer television interview.
One hundred ten 16mm. prints. Educational institutions;
civic organizations; local discussion groups.
- "Strong in Their Pride and Free" by Harry P. Cain.
Speech. 3,000 copies. National Civil Liberties
Clearing House. (61-190-531)
- "The Fifth Amendment Today" by Erwin N. Griswold. Book.
35,000 copies. Bench and bar.
- "The Kept Witnesses" by Richard H. Rovere. Article.
"Harper's. 25,000 copies. Labor officials; business
executives. (May, 1955; 100-196902-3)
- "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt" by Richard Hofstadter.
Article. "American Scholar." 25,000 copies. Business
executives; educators; churchmen.
- "To Insure the End of Our Hysteria" by Paul G. Hoffman.
Article. "The New York Times Magazine." 10,000 copies.
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; American Dental
Association. (New York Times Magazine 11/14/54 p.9)
- "To Make Our Security System Secure" by Vannevar Bush.
Article. "The New York Times Magazine." 10,000 copies.
Educators. (140-0-A-New York Times Magazine 3/20/55)
- "Who 'Collaborated' with Russia?" by Paul Willen. Article.
"Antioch Review." 600 copies. National Civil Liberties
Clearing House. (100-416984-1,2)

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A check of Bureau sources to determine if the above materials are available at the Bureau revealed that some of them have been reviewed, namely, "Government by Investigation," "Who 'Collaborated' with Russia?" and "The Kept Witnesses." The other books and articles will be obtained and reviewed. The location of the materials which are available to the Bureau is listed in parentheses above. Summaries have been previously prepared concerning Allan Barth, Telford Taylor, Erwin N. Griswold, Richard H. Rovere and Paul G. Hoffman. Griswold and Hoffman are members of the Board of Directors of the Fund and will be described under the section on principal officers. Information concerning the distribution of Telford Taylor's book was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated May 27, 1955, and information concerning Richard H. Rovere was furnished to the Department by memorandum dated July 6, 1955. (100-391697-98; 100-196902-5)

Fellowships and Grants-In-Aid:

According to the Fund's report it has established a program of fellowships and grants-in-aid in order to turn the attention of scholars to problems of special concern to the Fund and to aid those already working in the field. The Appendix of the Fund's report on page 40 lists 13 such awards which had been made prior to May 31, 1955. In November, 1954, the Fund authorized \$115,000 for this project. Among these grants are 4 for studies concerning loyalty and security problems or programs; 3 for studies concerning the freedom of Americans and 2 for studies concerning civil liberties.

The only individual receiving a grant under this program concerning whom Bufiles have been reviewed to date is Rowland Watts, who received a grant-in-aid for a study of "undesirable" discharges of drafted servicemen based on allegations regarding preinduction activities or associations.

A two-volume report by Watts setting forth the results of his study of the effect on draftees of the Army Military Personnel Security Program was released on August 4, 1955, by the Workers' Defense League (WDL), a defense movement of the Socialist Party. The study was very critical of the Army's security program for draftees. Bufiles reflect that

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

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Watts, a member of the Maryland Bar and since 1947 National Secretary of WDL, served a 3-year term as a conscientious objector during World War II. He has participated in anticonscription activities and pacifist organizations; has been active in the campaign to have organizations of Trotskyite origin removed from the Attorney General's subversive list; has represented seamen who have been screened off merchant ships as security risks; and was the subject of a 1950 Impersonation investigation in which prosecution was declined because of lack of positive evidence of his violation of the Impersonation Statute. Watts has been very critical of the FBI and on May 17, 1950, the New York Office was instructed that officials and personnel of the WDL were not to be interviewed without Bureau authority. When interviewed in 1952 - 1953 security case on Atomic Energy Commission employee, Watts was guilty of alleging "guilt by association," making accusations that employee was pro-Communist without specific information and refusal to testify or make a signed statement in the matter; all of which are items which he criticized in the Army program.

(100-419856)

A summary is currently being prepared by the Liaison Section which correlates the review of Bufiles concerning Watts and the review of his reports. File checks are being made concerning the 12 other individuals receiving fellowships and grants-in-aid.

Other Projects of the Fund:

In addition to the afore-mentioned projects the Fund has authorized grants for many projects on which little or no money had been spent as of May 31, 1955. These include:

- (1) \$100,000 for special awards for distinguished service to civil liberties authorized in May, 1955.
- (2) \$20,000 for work in civil liberties with trade unions authorized in April, 1955.
- (3) \$103,500 for the preparation and distribution of a service for lawyers on Federal loyalty-security regulations; to support legal referral services on

Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

security cases and for grants to bar groups for the defense of civil liberties cases authorized in November, 1954, and May, 1955.

(4) \$5,000 for a commission on censorship and related matters authorized in May, 1955.

(5) \$35,000 for a study of Post Office interference with the flow of information and opinion authorized in May, 1955.

(6) \$25,000 for exploration of a continuing agency to appraise the performance of the media of mass communications.

Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

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DIRECT GRANTS AUTHORIZED BY THE FUND:

At its Board meetings during 1953, 1954 and 1955 the Fund Board of Directors has authorized outright grants to 24 different groups, organizations or universities for work of interest to the Fund. Three of these have been previously included under projects of the Fund. File reviews are being made concerning the remaining 21 which are listed on pages 24 through 27 of Report of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., dated May 31, 1955.

Among the liberal grants which the Fund has authorized are:

1. \$240,000 to the Southern Regional Council in April, 1954, for expanding community education in inter-group relations in twelve states.
2. \$150,000 to the American Friends Service Committee in May, 1955, for a two-year program of support in legal cases to strengthen the right to freedom of conscience.
3. \$111,610 to the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., for the "Freedom Agenda" program. The object of this program is to involve all the groups in a community in a continuing discussion of the basic rights of Americans.
4. \$47,500 to the Common Council for American Unity in June, 1954, and May, 1955, for the work of protecting the legal rights of aliens and for research on 2,000 cases affecting aliens.

In addition to these grants listed above, the Fund has authorized smaller amounts to organizations for work in civil liberties, racial discrimination and segregation problems, for provisions of free counsel in security cases and for a "popular education" program dealing with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. According to the Fund's report, Irving Breakstone, Commander of the Illinois Department of the American Legion, called this latter program a "positive approach" to Communism and expressed the hope that the program will spread throughout the Departments of the Legion.

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

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PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE FUND

Name checks have been made previously and information concerning many of the Fund's officers, staff, and Board of Directors which includes 18 members, and consultants to the Fund, has been furnished to the Attorney General by memoranda dated January 19, 1955, and March 21, 1955. The Fund's report lists several individuals as officers who were not known to the Bureau as having been connected with the Fund prior to the receipt of galley proofs of the Fund's report on August 10, 1955. File checks are currently being made concerning these individuals.

Officers and Staff

Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of the Fund and a member of the Board of Directors - A summary reflecting the results of a Bureau file check on Hutchins was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated January 19, 1955. That memorandum briefly reflects that information included in an eight-page memorandum dated January 7, 1955. (For detailed summary, see 62-102013-3, enclosure) Set forth below is a brief synopsis of that summary:

"Hutchins has not been investigated by the FBI. Our files contain no evidence that Hutchins was ever a member of the Communist Party or of any Communist front group. However, since 1939 he has occasionally spoken under the auspices of, and his statements have been circulated by, Communist front groups. In 1949 Hutchins testified before the Illinois Seditious Activities Investigation Commission that he was not sympathetic toward Communism, not associated with Communism, and that he felt there was a distinction between signing a statement of a Communist front and sponsoring or becoming a member of a front organization. In his writings and speeches

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

Hutchins has advocated world government, admission of Communist China into the United Nations, and that educators be guaranteed freedom of thought and speech. He has opposed regulation of the Atomic Energy Program, loyalty oaths for schoolteachers and professors, the Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the eleven Communist leaders under the Smith Act, universal military training, and he has denounced Congressional, Illinois, and California investigation committees. In lecture before Beverly Hills High School on December 1, 1953, Hutchins stated, "We are cursed today by a tremendous glorification of the FBI. The only people we will believe are convicted spies and traitors." He also criticized Attorney General Brownell and apposed outlawing the Communist Party, stating that all limitations on it should be removed.

Wilbur Hugh Ferry, also known as "Ping" Ferry, Vice President of the Fund - Bufiles concerning Ferry were checked as of August 22, 1955, at which time pertinent data was furnished to the New York, Washington and Detroit Field Offices and those offices were requested to make discreet inquiries concerning Ferry in order that the Bureau may have complete background material on him. Upon the receipt of the results of these inquiries from the above-mentioned field offices, a complete summary concerning Ferry will be prepared incorporating that information with that already in the Bufiles. Data concerning Ferry was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated January 19, 1955, and a summary concerning Ferry dated January 7, 1955, is available in serial 100-391697-102.

Information previously available in Bufiles concerning Ferry is set forth below:

The August 30, 1954, issue of "Time" magazine on page 40 states that Ferry, 43, was named in August 1954, by Robert M. Hutchins, Fund president, to fill the newly created position of Fund vice-president and is stationed at the Fund's Manhattan office. Ferry was described as a former teacher and newsman who worked with the International Labor Organization, Office of Price Administration, and the CIO-PAC during New Deal days. In 1945 he joined the Earl Newsom Company, public relations firm, 597 Madison Avenue, New York City, where his duties included writing speeches for Henry Ford II and doing "think work" for the Ford Foundation. Ferry was still employed by the Earl Newsom Company in 1951, at which time his home address was 34 Home Place, Bronxville, New York. The 1955 Westchester

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

telephone directory lists Wilbur H. Ferry at Central Drive, Bronxville, New York. Ferry is the son of Hugh J. Ferry, president, treasurer, and director of the Packard Motor Car Company, Detroit, Michigan, who was a Special Service Contact of the Detroit Office from December, 1950, until December 15, 1951. He resides at 344 Neff Road, Grosse Pointe, Michigan.

On November 6, 1944, Sam Moscowitz, publicity director for the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (JAFRC), contacted Ferry, publicity director of the CIO-PAC, in an effort to have Ferry obtain a dinner speaker for them. On February 10, 1945, information was received that Ferry was very close to the national officers of the JAFRC and was a member of the Advisory Committee of publicity men who had met with officials of the JAFRC to assist in their mapping out a national fund-raising campaign at that time. The JAFRC has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450. (Tesur 221; 100-7061, 852, 923 pgs. 15, 18)

David F. Freeman, Secretary of the Fund - No identifiable information was located in Bufiles concerning Freeman as of March 31, 1955. (100-391697-82)

According to the Fund's report, the other officers and members of the Fund's staff are Hallock Hoffman, Assistant to the President; Edward Reed; Joseph P. Lyford; Thomas J. Gardner, Assistant Treasurer; Winifred G. Meskus, Assistant Secretary; and Bethuel M. Webster, Counsel. Webster is the only one in this group on whom the files have already been checked. Summaries are currently being prepared on the other individuals.

Bethuel Matthew Webster, Counsel for the Fund - retired in June, 1954, as President of Association of the Bar of the City of New York. Named by "The New York Times" article December 22, 1954, as having 'proved to be a liaison' between Fund and Association in its current project. In 1949 was subject of Loyalty of Government Employees investigation terminated when no derogatory information developed. He resigned from Government service prior to decision on loyalty. Attorney for William Remington in 1950, but withdrew before the trial got underway. Attorney for

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Emile Labin, subject of Internal Security - R investigation. In February, 1954, alleged by 'Philadelphia Evening Bulletin' columnist to have been critical of Bureau's investigation of one of nation's top bankers. When interviewed on March 12, 1954, by New York SAC, Webster denied columnist's allegation, professed high regard for Bureau; but felt investigations of people in high Government positions superfluous.

Board of Directors

Information concerning the results of file checks on all of the Board of Directors of the Fund as of April, 1955, was furnished to the Attorney General by memorandum dated April 4, 1955. (summary 100-391697-81) The Fund's report lists the 18 current members of the Board of Directors and it is noted that there is only one change in that group. Arthur H. Dean, attorney, Sullivan and Cromwell, New York City, and former Special United States Ambassador to Korea and United Nations representative in the Korean Truce Negotiations, has been added to the Board of Directors to take the place of Richard J. Finnegan, who died on May 6, 1955.

The results of Bufile checks as of March 31, 1955, concerning some of the members of the Board of Directors are set forth below in synopsis form:

Paul Gray Hoffman has been Chairman of the Fund Board of Directors since February, 1953. He was subject of applicant-type investigation conducted in July, 1953, at request of the Secretary of State. On 7/31/53 a 26-page summary reflecting results of that investigation was sent to the Attorney General, White House, and Secretary of State. While most persons interviewed considered Hoffman to be of excellent character, and well qualified for a position of trust with the Government, one person noted he had received public criticism for stacking the Ford Foundation with 'so-called left wingers' while its Director from 1950 to 1953. In 1948, his name was found in possession of a French National who spoke at Socialist Workers Party and Workers Party (cited by the Attorney General) meetings in Philadelphia. Hoffman was critical of Government loyalty program in February, 1949, stating he did not consider past membership in an organization later considered subversive to be a public test of loyalty. He was a trustee of the Institute of Pacific Relations from 1943 to 1948, contributing \$100 each year to its support. (100-391697-82, 81)

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

George Nauman Shuster, Vice Chairman of the Fund Board of Directors - Was subject of applicant-type investigation conducted in 1949-50 under ERP*. Friends and associates regard him as a loyal and patriotic American, hostile to Fascism, Communism, and all un-American political philosophies. Shuster was accused of being affiliated with groups and individuals having pro-Nazi and pro-Communist leanings. He was sponsor and member of the National Advisory Board of the American Youth Congress (cited by the Attorney General) 1937-41; and affiliated with the following Communist infiltrated and Communist organizations: American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, 1949; International Students Service, 1942; and the National Wartime Conference of the Professions, The Sciences, the Arts, the White Collar Fields, 1943. Public expressions of Shuster in 1943, 1947, and 1953, indicated his opposition to Communism. He favored outlawing the CP as an aid to the maintenance of academic freedom and opposed investigation of educational institutions by Congress. He has been contacted regularly in applicant cases and has been found to be trustworthy and discreet. He has shown complete cooperation to this Bureau, to the extent of lending his personal office at Hunter College so that the Bureau might secure motion pictures of the Russian personnel at the United Nations. J(x)

Erwin Nathaniel Griswold, Dean of Harvard Law School since 1946 - Has not been investigated by Bureau. He has been affiliated with the following cited organizations: in 1948, with the Committee of One Thousand in opposition to hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) concerning Dr. Edward U. Condon, whom that Committee accused of being the "weak link" in the nation's atomic secret security; in 1950, his name was on mailing list of National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill; in September, 1951, he attempted to persuade Robert Hutchins, Fund President, to lead a group from the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, in opposition to the McCarran Bill, and in 1951, he upheld Harvard Lawyers Guild, an affiliate of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). In September, 1948, Griswold reportedly stated that he was in sympathy with Alger Hiss. While there is no indication that Griswold testified in behalf of Hiss, he was reported to have been in court one day during the Hiss trial and to have conferred with Hiss and the latter's lawyer during a recess. When contacted in June, 1951,

*European Recovery Program

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

during the course of a routine applicant-type investigation, Griswold criticized the Bureau and complained that both his time and that of the Agent was being wasted. Griswold has been on list not to be contacted without prior Bureau authority since July, 1951. His recent book, "The Fifth Amendment," states that the United States Constitution's Fifth Amendment, which protects a person from testifying against himself, is something which distinguishes our nation from the Communist countries.

John Lord O'Brian, member of the law firm of Covington and Burling, Washington, D. C., - Has not been investigated by Bureau. Since 1939, there has been sporadic, friendly correspondence between the Bureau and O'Brian. In 1938, O'Brian was a member of the Committee on Labor, Employment and Social Security of the National Lawyers Guild (cited by HGUA). In January, 1948, in an address before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, he was critical of the loyalty program. In January, 1954, O'Brian was consulted by Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer and his attorneys in connection with Oppenheimer's security clearance case. O'Brian stated that he was extremely interested in Oppenheimer's case but was unable to take it because of the disapproval of his partners.

Robert Emmet Sherwood, well-known writer and winner of four Pulitzer Prizes - Has not been investigated by Bureau. Bureau files reflect that Sherwood has been affiliated with the following cited organizations: New Theatre League, 1941; New York Conference for Inalienable Rights, 1941; and National Institute of Arts and Letters, 1948. One Robert Sherwood was member of Civil Rights Congress in 1952. In 1941, Sherwood was connected with "Free Company," alleged by American Legion to have put on Communistic plays and broadcasts. In 1949 he was named by a Senate Subcommittee as one prominent in Communist front movements. A letter written by Sherwood was introduced into evidence in the defense of Owen Lattimore before a Senate Subcommittee in 1950. He signed statement requesting reversal of conviction for contempt of Congress of "Hollywood Ten."

James David Zellerbach, President and Director of the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco - was subject of and applicant-type investigation in 1948 under the European Recovery Program and a special inquiry-applicant investigation conducted for the State Department in 1953. Investigations reflected that

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

Zellerbach contributed, through his company, \$100 per month from July, 1944, to August, 1945, to the California Labor School (cited by the Attorney General); was a contributor and on the Board of Directors of the Institute of Pacific Relations (1947-53); was present at reception for V. M. Molotov in 1945; and was a member of the Citizens' Committee to Protect Rincon Annex Murals (murals painted by artist described as pro-Communist and were reportedly undemocratic). On July 12, 1939, the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, Zellerbach and two of his brothers were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury at San Francisco for violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. On May 2, 1941, the Corporation was fined \$5,000 on each of two counts in the indictment and on the same date the indictment concerning Zellerbach and his brothers was dismissed. (For complete summaries concerning these people, see 100-391697-81)

Chester Bowles, Esser, Connecticut, formerly Office of Price Administration administrator (1943-46) and Governor of Connecticut (1949-51), was subject of a nonderogatory applicant investigation in 1942. In 1946 Bowles was affiliated with the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a Communist front. In 1947 Bowles stated there would be no place in the Union for Democratic Action, an affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action, for Communists. He also condemned what he called the "obsession" with American Communism" and stated that Red baiting should be left to Parnell Thomas and the "Chicago Tribune." The Communist Party and People's Party of Connecticut supported Bowles in the 1948 and 1954 gubernatorial elections. In September, 1948, he was criticized by the People's Party candidate for repudiating their support. The People's Party of Connecticut was reportedly dominated by the Communist Party. Bowles received Communist Party support in the 1954 elections because they felt that while he did not aid the Communist movement, neither did he take as active a position against Communism as did Governor Lodge.

The other members of the present Board of Directors are:

Harry S. Ashmore, Executive Editor
Arkansas Gazette,
Little Rock, Arkansas

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

*Charles W. Cole, President, Amherst College
Amherst, Massachusetts*

*Arthur H. Dean, Attorney, Sullivan & Cromwell
New York, New York*

*Russell L. Dearmont, Attorney, St. Louis,
Missouri*

*Robert M. Hutchins, President, The Fund for
the Republic, Inc.
Information set forth
on pages 35 and 36 of
this summary.*

*William H. Joyce, Jr., Chairman of the Board,
Joyce Inc., Pasadena,
California*

*Meyer Kestnbaum, President, Hart Schaffner &
Marr, Chicago, Illinois*

*M. Albert Linton, Chairman of the Board,
Provident Mutual Life
Insurance Company,
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

*Jubal R. Parten, President, Woodley Petroleum
Company, Houston, Texas*

*Elmo Roper, Elmo Roper & Associates, New York,
New York*

*Mrs. Eleanor B. Stevenson, Oberlin, Ohio
(Summaries 3/31/55, 100-391697-82)*

Consultants to the Fund

The Fund's report on page 36 lists seven Consultants to the Fund. Of this group, summaries have been completed on only Walter Millis and Benjamin D. Segal. Pertinent information included in a

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

memorandum prepared on Millis dated January 10, 1955, ~~when he was~~
assisting with the work of the Association of the Bar of the City
of New York, is set forth as follows:

Walter Millis, former editorial writer and columnist for "New York Herald Tribune," - Not investigated by Bureau. As consultant at Fund headquarters since August 1, 1954, Millis prepared working papers on scope of problem (examination of Federal security-loyalty program) and possible methods of study. In 1934 was suggested by Frederick V. Field, long associated with Communist front organizations and Communist Party, as likely to do monograph on problems of Navies in Pacific. Field confident Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR) would have hand in what Millis did. Millis connected with IPR 1934-43 and described in 1951 by Executive Vice Chairman, IPR, as one whose works had been published by IPR and well known for active opposition to Communism.

Ben Segal - "Labor's Daily" article of June 16, 1955, quotes Ben Segal, Labor Consultant and Washington, D. C., Representative of Fund for the Republic, in refuting column by George Sokolsky on Fund for the Republic. Segal has taken an interest in matter of loyalty and security programs of Government and private industry. Ben Segal is very common name and there are numerous references to that name. Available background information concerning Segal is general. Following may pertain to captioned person. In 1943 Ben Segal of Institute of Racial Minorities was described by informant as definitely member of professional section of Communist Party. References to name Ben Segal in Philadelphia reflect activity relating to fair employment practices, Socialist Party and union affairs. In 1945 through 1946 Ben Segal of Philadelphia was affiliated with Bi-Partisan Committee for Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practices Committee. Ben Segal of Bi-Partisan Committee was reported as "known member of Communist Party." National Religion and Labor Foundation with which Segal is Executive Board member, founded in 1932 by man described by Louis Budenz as Communist; top officials of Foundation have been described as pro-Russian and publication of Foundation described as showing evidence of Communist Party line. Technical Surveillance in Washington, D. C., and New York disclosed references to name Ben Segal in connection with telephone calls at CIO Maritime Union 1942-45. One such reference reflects Segal was invited to (Harry) Bridges Victory Party

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Memorandum from Belmont to Boardman

in June, 1945. In February, 1948, Ben Segal of CIO reportedly was being considered to replace Lee Pressman who resigned as General Counsel of CIO and United Steel Workers in disagreement over candidacy of Henry Wallace for President. (summary 6/29/55; 100-391697-123)

The Fund's report lists the following additional Consultants on whom Bufiles are currently being checked:

Howard L. Chernoff, San Diego, California

Robert E. Cushman, Cornell University,
Ithaca, New York

Elmer Davis, Washington, D. C.

Frank S. Loescher, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

George W. Overton, Chicago, Illinois

MISCELLANEOUS

On June 22, 1955, the Fund awarded \$5,000 to the library of the village of Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, for its "Courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" because they refused to fire their librarian Mrs. Mary Knowles, discharged in 1953 as librarian at Norwood, Massachusetts. A summary memorandum was prepared on Mrs. Mary G. Knowles dated June 30, 1955, and information concerning her was furnished to the Attorney General on July 1, 1955. She has been subject of a Security Matter - C investigation since January, 1945, and is presently included in the Security Index of the Philadelphia Office. (for complete summary see 100-338613-34)

On August 15, 1955, Irving Ferman, a Washington representative of the American Civil Liberties Union, advised Mr. Nichols that W. H. Ferry, Vice President of the Fund, had told him that the Fund for the Republic was going to have an investigation made of the FBI and into the activities of the American Legion. He stated that they were now looking around for someone to undertake this investigation. He added that he would like to have a good Catholic law school undertake such an investigation and stated that investigations in the controversial fields would be undertaken for the Fund by colleges and universities.

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Office Memo. m • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: September 1, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Ladd _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

With reference to the Director's instructions to me on August 31st, I desire to advise that I have informed Mr. W. C. Sullivan of the Director's desire to have a monograph prepared on the Fund For the Republic in a manner which would permit dissemination of the monograph to the key leaders of Government. I pointed out to Mr. Sullivan that the purpose of the monograph was to give the principal leaders of the Government an over-all view and picture of just what the Fund For the Republic is, the nature of its program and the obvious slant which is being directed against the security measures within the Government. I pointed out to Mr. Sullivan that the Director wanted to have such material included in the monograph as had appeared in Fulton Lewis' broadcasts, the David Lawrence and George Sokolsky columns and numerous other comments which had been made. In fact, I suggested to Mr. Sullivan that it might be very effective to have an appendix which would reprint the principal columns and editorials reflecting the Fund For the Republic's true motives as this would certainly have considerable impact on anyone who would read it.

I told Mr. Sullivan that this should be given expeditious attention, should be completed without delay, but on the other hand, it should be very carefully done and sufficient time should be taken to do the job thoroughly and completely.

cc - Mr. Boardman
 cc - Mr. Belmont
 cc - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

LBN:ptm
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 7-25-89 BY 2035 JTB

RECORDED

100-311697-147
9 SEP 7 1955

50 OCT 7

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: September 6,
1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.
Broadcast on September 5, 1955
Fund for the RepublicALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/25/89 BY 203837Jaf

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

For approximately 10 minutes of his 15-minute broadcast, Lewis generally discussed the day's news other than the Fund for the Republic. He stated that it appears very likely that the \$50,000 awarded to the American Heritage Council by the Fund for the Republic for a project concerning popular education in co-operation with the Illinois Department of the American Legion will be repudiated by the Legion's Illinois Department.

Lewis commented that the American Heritage Council should not be confused with the American Heritage Foundation in New York which sponsored the Freedom Train.

He related that the American Heritage Council dates back to 1951 when it was founded by Barnett Hodies. Hodies comes from the University of Chicago area, according to Lewis.

The Illinois Department of the American Legion, Lewis said, is meeting this weekend and will consider a resolution requesting Congress to take away the tax-exempt status of the Fund for the Republic which says it will investigate the FBI and the American Legion.

Lewis added that he has learned that a young man representing the Fund for the Republic, probably W. H. Ferry, with whom he talked in New York appeared before the Americanism Commission of the American Legion and tried to get that group to cooperate on a project, probably the present American Heritage Council project for popular education, and the Legion's Americanism Commission repudiated it. The Americanism Commission, according to Lewis, suggested instead that the Fund for the Republic and the Legion cooperate on a project to furnish copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution to school children, but the Fund for the Republic turned this down.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont

WCP:mbk
(8)

SEP 8 1955

TO 5H 204

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: September 7, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC
INTERNAL SECURITY - CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 2580 SJP/f

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth some anti-Communist statements which are to be found in publications prepared and issued directly by the Fund for the Republic. The first volume referred to is entitled Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States, which consists of 478 pages of bibliographical material. This voluminous work was issued in 1955. In the Introduction this statement appears:

"No one who reads the newspapers, pays taxes, or has a son in the armed forces can be unaware of the grave meaning of the Communist problem to the United States. It has three aspects: external danger to our security and that of other free nations; internal danger from a small but highly disciplined body of zealots within the United States, whose loyalty runs to a powerful world movement controlled by Soviet Russia; and a possible threat to American freedoms from some of the counter-measures directed at the internal Communist danger. Maximum wisdom and informed judgment are needed by the nation's leaders and its people if they are to solve these problems satisfactorily."

On page 468, this work refers to the "History of the Communist Party of the United States" by William Z. Foster, which was published in 1952. It is definitely critical of Foster's work. It refers to Foster as being "a veteran at following the sinuous 'Party line.'" It charges Foster with "attempts to obscure the early militancy of the Party..."

Preceding the Foreword, President Dwight D. Eisenhower is quoted as follows:

"The truth about communism is, today, an indispensable requirement if the true values of our democratic system are to be properly assessed. Ignorance of communism, fascism,

WCS:mjh
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- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section tickler

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18 SEP 18 1955

CENTRAL FILE

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

or any other police-state philosophy is far more dangerous than ignorance of the most virulent disease."

In a second volume published by the Fund for the Republic in 1955 entitled Digest of the Public Record of Communism in the United States, the following anti-Communist statement is found on page 7 of the Foreword:

"The Soviet drive for military imperial expansion, and Soviet manipulation of the apparatus and ideology of organized Communism to promote Soviet policy in other countries, are responsible for a great majority of the present-day troubles of the United States."

As stated elsewhere, these isolated anti-Communist statements by themselves alone prove nothing but they do indicate the need for extremely careful research and writing of the monograph on the Fund for the Republic in order that it will be absolutely sound, factual and irrefutable and will not present grave embarrassment to the Bureau and a damaging of its reputation.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for the information of the Director.

In the final analysis
it will be valuable to
add up those publications
which have been either
pro or apologetic for
Communism & those
objectively against it
which the Fund has
sponsored.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: September 7, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 2088 JH

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The purpose of this memorandum is to point out some anti-Communist statements made by Professor Clinton Rossiter of Cornell University, who at the present time occupies the very important position of Director of a "study of Communist influence in American life being made for the Fund for the Republic." In the position indicated, Professor Rossiter occupies a very important and influential status in the present setup of the Fund for the Republic. You will recall advising me that the Director is interested in having such statements called to his attention.

In a book written by Professor Rossiter entitled "Conservatism in America" published by Alfred A. Knopf in 1955, Rossiter says:

"The two-way street between Communism and Nazism is a good deal shorter than some people seem to think, for each of these revolutionary ideologies fuses radicalism and reaction into a hideous mockery of liberty and justice." (p. 14)

Elsewhere, Professor Rossiter speaks of "the moral blindness of those who insist on the identity of democratic Socialism and Soviet Communism..." (p. 239).

Throughout this book, Professor Rossiter propounds a political theory which is wholly incompatible with Communism. He presents for the consideration of the reader what he believes a sound and new Conservatism in the United States should consist of in our era. On page 18 of the Introduction, Professor Rossiter says:

"My one consistent aim has been to state a consensus of Conservatism to which Conservatives can agree."

It is to be noted that this book was awarded the Charles Austin Beard Memorial Prize for 1954.

WCS:mjh
(4)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section Chief

RECORDED - 82
INDEXED - 32

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Central File

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont from W. C. Sullivan

Professor Rossiter made an unfavorable reference to J. B. Matthews in this book and Matthews returned the compliment by writing a critical review of the book for the Mercury magazine some time ago. Rossiter referred to Matthews as one who "declared open war on the methods and traditions of our best colleges." (p. 283)

As a result of an interview with Norman A. Bikales of the Cornell Daily Sun, Ithaca, New York, on February 17, 1955, the following thoughts were attributed to Professor Rossiter:

"While the Communist penetration into American life is not so great as the McCarthyites and other right-wing defenders of the faith would have us believe, we must face the reality that Communism has made definite inroads and will leave lasting impressions on our society."

These quotations by themselves alone do not constitute proof of any kind but they do indicate the complexity of this analysis of the Fund for the Republic and the need for unusually great care in research and in writing in order that the monograph being prepared cannot be contradicted, dissected or refuted in any manner whatsoever with any damage done to the Bureau.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for the information of the Director.

✓ *Q*
It is not my understanding
that the Fund sponsored or
distributed this book by
Rossiter. While it is true
Rossiter may be anti-Communist
I am interested in any sponsorship
by the Fund which comes out
ultimately as against Communism
I am not apologetic for it.

Mr. Nichols

September 15,
1955

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST
SEPTEMBER 15, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/23/89 BY 202073/af

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his radio broadcast of September 15, 1955, again devoted a large portion of his time to his study of the Fund for the Republic and continued with his discussion regarding Mrs. Mary Knowles, whom he referred to as the Fifth Amendment librarian who was barred from the Norwood, Massachusetts, Library for refusing to say whether she was or ever had been a Communist. He stated that Mrs. Knowles made another appearance before the Senate Internal Subcommittee on Thursday. Lewis again pointed out that Mrs. Knowles was hired by the Plymouth Meeting of Friends after losing her job in Norwood, Massachusetts. Lewis also reminded that the Fund for the Republic so set to bestow an award of \$5,000 "for the courageous stand in the library committee in upholding civil liberties."

Lewis continued that in the Thursday session before the committee Mrs. Knowles began by saying that she knows nothing of national security, internal security, espionage, subversion, sabotage, infiltration, overthrow of the Government or any activities in behalf of a foreign power. Lewis stated that she said that in view of these things and of the fact that she was a private citizen employed by a private organization, she felt she had no information in the jurisdiction of the committee. Senator Jenner overruled Mrs. Knowles. The committee counsel, Jay Sourwine, then informed her that Herbert Philbrick told the committee under oath 2 years ago that she had been a member of a Communist underground cell with Philbrick in Malden, Massachusetts. Sourwine asked whether she was now a member of the party. She lied that she was not now a member of the Communist Party and that for many, many years she had had no connection, direct or indirect, with any organization on the Attorney General's subversive list.

She said she did not know who applied for the \$5,000 award which the Fund for the Republic contributed. Sourwine told her that the committee knows that as late as 1951 that Mrs. Mary Knowles paid dues to the Jamaica Plain Branch of the Communist Political Association. She would not make any further comment.

Lewis continued that he had a column from the Hollywood, California, Citizens News, of Victor Riesel which states that Earl Browder, onetime head of the Communist Party for many years, is now working for the Fund for the Republic and is engaged on a project to study Communist influence in

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Jones

cc - Bufile 100-391697

NOT RECORDED
45 SEP 15 1955

SEP 20 1955

Memo to Mr. Nichols

September 15, 1955

the United States. Lewis stated, that according to the annual report of the Fund for the Republic, there was a section for 'Communist influence in the U. S.' which was for a study of the Communist record, bibliography, digest and microfilms, the sum of \$64,500; for a survey of American attitudes toward Communist and Civil liberties, \$185,500; for an account of Communist influence in major segments of U. S. society, \$3,000. Lewis stated he assumed this is the project for which Browder has been hired.

Lewis stated that it is conceivable that Browder should be questioned in this study of Communist influence in the U. S. because he was a part of that influence over a long period of time. Lewis pointed out that Browder has been extremely antagonistic to all questioning in the past, and he has refused to answer questions of investigating committees. Lewis stated that it would be using Browder in such a study only reflects any line of objectivity on the ultimate results.

Lewis continued that today Dr. Robert Hutchins of the Fund for the Republic had dispatched a telegram to the National Commander of the American Legion asking for the complete mailing list of the American Legion throughout the world so that the Fund for the Republic can mail to everyone of the more than 2 million members of the Legion a copy of the Fund's annual report. The Legion's answer was that if the Fund will provide the copy of the report and foot the cost of the mailing, the Legion will itself send the reports to the members.

Lewis also stated that he had learned that the Fund for the Republic was buying time throughout the Nation immediately following his broadcast which stated that if listeners want the facts they should send their name and address to the headquarters, and a free copy of the annual report would be sent to them. Lewis stated that he felt this was a very excellent idea and that he thought everyone should have a copy of this report.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

The Attorney General

September 19, 1955

Director, FBI

EDITORIAL FROM WASHINGTON EVENING STAR
DATED SEPTEMBER 16, 1955.

There is attached for your information a copy
of an editorial captioned "**\$5,000 Tax-Free Reward**" which
appeared in the September 16, 1955, edition of the
Washington Evening Star and which I thought you would
be interested in seeing.

Enclosure

CC - Mr. William F. Rogers (with copy of *signature*)
Deputy Attorney General

CC - Assistant Attorney General (with copy of *signature*)
William F. Tompkins

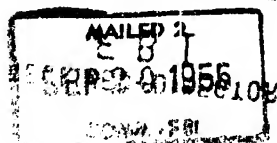
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ENCLOSURE
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10 SEP 22 1955

\$5,000 Tax-Free Reward

It probably does not make a great deal of difference whether Mary Knowles once belonged to the Communist Party or not. Evidently she is not a member now, and if she was one of the comrades several years ago there is no evidence that the national security suffered thereby.

On the other hand, there does not appear to be any good reason why Mary Knowles, when she appeared this week before a Senate committee, should have refused to say whether she had been a Communist. In 1953, when the same question was put to her, she invoked the Fifth Amendment, contending that a truthful answer might incriminate her. But she makes no such claim at this time. Her current position simply is that the committee has no right to ask her such a question. Presumably, contempt proceedings will be instituted and the chances are that Mrs. Knowles will be punished. If she wants to take this course, that is her business. Except for one circumstance, the incident would pass largely unnoticed.

That circumstance concerns the Fund for the Republic, set up with a \$15-million grant from the Ford Foundation.

After invoking the Fifth Amendment, Mrs. Knowles lost her job as a librarian in Massachusetts. She was hired in a similar capacity by the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of Friends, a Quaker group in Pennsylvania. This prompted the Fund for the Republic to make a \$5,000 award to the Quaker library—a reward not yet accepted—for its “courageous and effective defense of democratic principles.”

This, too, might be a matter of small consequence except for one thing. The money controlled by the Fund is tax-exempt, presumably on the theory that it will be used for a constructive public purpose. But what public purpose is served when, in effect, \$5,000 is paid as a reward for hiring a woman who had refused to testify before a Senate committee? What “democratic principles” were defended in this instance?

It does not seem right that the Treasury, meaning the taxpayers, should be called upon, through the device of tax exemption, to subsidize this kind of activity.

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DATE 7-25-89 BY 88373/98

ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: 9/16/55

FROM : Mr. A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: MARY G. KNOWLES
SECURITY MATTER - C
Bufile 100-338613

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According to an article appearing in the September 16, 1955, edition of the "Washington Post and Times Herald" Mary G. Knowles refused to tell the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, when testifying before that Committee September 15, 1955, at Washington, D. C., whether she had ever been a Communist. Her refusal was based on the grounds the Subcommittee had no jurisdiction to question her concerning such matters as she had no information concerning subversion. Knowles, however, volunteered she was not then a Communist and had not been a Communist Party (CP) member for at least 6 years. As reflected in the article Senator William E. Jenner who conducted the hearing advised reporters he believed Knowles to be in contempt and was going to take the matter to the full Committee.

Knowles has been the subject of a security investigation since 1945 and is presently included in the Security Index of the Philadelphia Office. Confidential informants who have furnished reliable information in the past have advised that Knowles registered as a CP member in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1943; was a CP member in 1944-45; in 1947 was Secretary of the School Branch of the CP; attended CP meetings in 1948. She was an instructor at the Samuel Adams School in Boston, in 1944 and was Secretary of the School 1947-48. She was reported as a member of the International Workers Order (IWO) in 1949. The IWO and the Samuel Adams School have been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450. Herbert Philbrick, former Bureau informant, named Knowles as an former CP member in testimony before a public session of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on May 8, 1953. Knowles invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned by this Committee.

Enclosure *sent 9.14.55*
cc Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Durland
AD:pat:sad

17 SEP 27 1955

INT. SEC.

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

concerning her Communist connections on May 21, 1953, and was as a result dismissed from her position as librarian at the Norwood, Massachusetts, Public Library, on June 1, 1953.

Knowles was employed as a librarian by the William Jeanes Memorial Library, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, in October 1953 and is presently employed there. This library is operated by the Society of Friends (Quakers) and formerly received funds from local civic organizations. However, they withdrew their financial support after Knowles refused to execute a Loyalty Oath in connection with her employment and in view of her refusal to answer questions before the Senate committee. In June 1955 the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic granted \$5,000 to the William Jeanes Memorial Library for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" in employing Knowles despite her refusal to answer questions before the Senate committee. In this connection it is noted the September 16, 1955, "Washington Post and Times Herald" article relates that Knowles was asked by J. G. Sourwine during her testimony if it was not true that the Fund for the Republic had given the \$5,000 to the Plymouth Meeting Library to make possible her employment. She replied she was "quite sure there was no implication of this being a subsidy."

Knowles was an uncooperative witness before an Executive Session of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee held July 29, 1955, and invoked the First Amendment in answer to questions concerning her Communist activities.

Copies of all reports reflecting results of investigation concerning Knowles (last dated September 1, 1955) have been furnished the Department. The Attorney General by letters June 28, 1955, and July 1, 1955, was furnished information concerning the subversive activities of Knowles and the Fund for the Republic grant to the Library.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be forwarded to the Attorney General, copies to Deputy Attorney General Rogers and Assistant Attorney General Tompkins, advising of subject's testimony on September 16, 1955, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *[initials]*

FROM : M. A. Jones *[initials]*

SUBJECT: *N.Y.*
FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST OF AUGUST 22, 1955

DATE: August 22, 1955

Tolson ☒

Boardman ☒

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Belmont ☒

Harbo ☒

Mohr ☒

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Sizoo ☒

Winterrowd ☒

Tele. Room ☒

Holloman ☒

Gandy ☒

On his broadcast tonight, his first since returning from vacation, Lewis commented on his travels and dwelt mostly on observations concerning the Geneva Conference. He mentioned that the Russians came up with absolutely nothing but that at least the United States did not lose this Conference, although no concessions were obtained from Russia.

At the close of his broadcast, Lewis said that for the next weeks, he would be talking about the Fund for the Republic, the so-called public service organization financed by 15 million dollars from the Ford Foundation. He said over the week end this group published its first annual report which received only cursory press attention. Among the things ignored in the report was a \$25,000 grant to Leland Stanford University of Law at Palo Alto, California, for "analysis of the testimony of witnesses in proceedings relative to Communism." This study is to cover ten major named witnesses including Elizabeth Bentley, Paul Crouch, Louis Budenz, Manning Johnson and other former Communists who turned against Communism. He advised that this study was peddled to various universities in the East, particularly Catholic ones, and all of them turned it down as an obvious attempt to discredit the witnesses and help the Communist cause. He said it would be well for those in charge at Stanford to look over the records and past performances of the Fund for the Republic before final commitment.

Lewis concluded by saying the Fund for the Republic is now trying to find some college to act as a front and to make a similar investigation of the American Legion and the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Belmont

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64 SEP 15 1955

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21 SEP 12 1955

CRIME

Mr. Nichols

August 31, 1955

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST ON AUGUST 31, 1955
○ FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

7/25/89 B1 208(B7) p/p

Mr. Lewis briefly referred to the Senate Security Investigating Committee which heard a string of witnesses today telling stories of how unfair they have been treated. He used one case of an employee in Rhode Island who was fired on a one-week notice and told that the reason for his termination was that his parents had been associated with some organization on the Attorney General's subversive list.

Lewis stated that Senator Olin D. Johnston, who is given to political statements, stated this instance demonstrates that the Loyalty-Security Program of the Federal Government is jumbled and needs a complete overhauling to prevent inequities in the future. Lewis commented that "radical fringe," "pink hangers on" and the "beer and pretzel nonconformist Fifth Amendment Club" have only one real objective and that is to get rid of the Loyalty-Security Program and are not interested in the perfection or reorganization of it.

Lewis disclosed that he had attempted to contact Mr. Herbert Packer, the Washington lawyer who was assigned to the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Foundation to conduct a survey and study of the testimony of reformed Communist witnesses. Lewis wanted to inquire just how it happened that Packer was going to be attached to the Stanford University Law School in January to make the survey and whether Packer feels he is capable of doing a legitimate and objective job in view of the fact that he is not an employee of the University at all, but rather of the decidedly slanted Fund for the Republic run by such individuals, who, by their own statements, are decidedly slanted against loyalty-security investigations of Communism and subversive activities generally. Lewis was informed that Packer was on vacation in California and is having conferences with Robert Maynard Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, and with the Dean of the Stanford Law School about the coming project.

Lewis then mentioned a questionnaire which is being sent out by the Fund for the Republic entitled "Blacklisting in Private Industry - a Study of Blacklisting in the Radio, Television and Motion Pictures Industries."

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cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman
GEM:rcw
(7)

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46 SEP 13 1955

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Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

August 31, 1955

An appropriation of \$100,000 was authorized a year ago for this project. The questionnaire being sent to controlling figures in these industries is as follows:

(1) Does your organization hold that certain political criteria should be met by artists whom you engage? That is, would you disapprove of hiring an artist: (a) named as a Communist by a Government agency? (b) one who was an unfriendly witness before a Government investigating body? (c) one who stood on the Fifth Amendment before such a body? (d) one who has been listed in such private organs as "Counterattack," "Red Channels," "Firing Line"? (e) an artist who in the public mind or at least in a goodly section of the public is deemed controversial? (f) any other category? (2) If such criteria are to be met, does your organization leave the application of them to the advertising agency in the network or do you take an active interest? (3) Is it your experience that the employment of controversial personalities hurts the sale of products? (4) Are you satisfied with the way the question has been handled to date?

Lewis stated that this is rather silly stuff to spend \$100,000 on. He commented briefly on this questionnaire and stated that the answers are obvious to any reasonable loyal American with a sense of public duty.

Lewis stated that he had received a request to be interviewed, but, although he accepted, he has not heard anything from the Fund for the Republic for the past three months about it.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

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CHANGED TO
100-418797-41,

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DATE 7-25-89 BY 88157/8

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: September 8, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST
SEPTEMBER 8, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/25/88 BY 2857

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Mr. Lewis devoted about 5 minutes of his broadcast this evening to a discussion of the Ford Foundation. He started off by recalling a previous broadcast in which he mentioned a visit to the office of W. H. "Ping" Ferry, Vice President of the Fund for the Republic. He mentioned that during his interview with Ferry, and unknown to him, a stenographer was placed behind him for the purpose of making a transcript of his entire conversation. He stated that when he heard about this he wrote to Ferry requesting a copy of the transcript. He advised that although 10 days had elapsed since his request he has not received the transcript or even an acknowledgment to his letter requesting same.

He then went on to speak about a "memorandum" which he received from a very distinguished lady who lived near Pasadena, California." He stated that he has checked very carefully into the background of this individual and her immediate family and found it beyond reproach. He then read the memorandum which began by referring to the broadcast in which he mentioned his interview with Ferry. She set forth that she had met Ferry in Pasadena at the home of a friend of hers in about 1952. She thought that this visit was occasioned by a letter from a former friend of Henry Ford I to Henry Ford II in which this friend had stated that several people were keeping files on the Ford Foundation and that "if he didn't get cleaned up it would probably blow up in his face." She described Ferry's demeanor on the occasion of this meeting as "cold and almost insolent." She stated she asked Ferry if Henry Ford II had read the book, "Prejudice and the Press," which is a book on Robert M. Hutchins and his experiences at the University of Chicago or had seen the Broyles report concerning Robert Hutchins, and his answer was "Yes." He added that in spite of this Mr. Ford felt that Robert Hutchins was the man to head the Ford Foundation, and Ferry refused to discuss the matter further.

* One man had the McCarran Institute of Pacific Relations Report on Moses Findley who was at Rutgers on a Ford grant. That was something new and Mr. Ferry was interested.

Lewis added an explanation that Ferry's father, Hugh Ferry, is the former president and chairman of the Packard Motor Company and a relatively conservative and a well-beloved individual figure in Detroit. He stated that the

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Jones

RECORDED - 77

* He was present at the gathering in the California Woman's

SEP 13 1955

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LIBRARY

Memo to Mr. Nichols

September 8, 1955

record of "Ping" Ferry is a repeated story of continued radicalism on the crusading level and with \$15,000,000 of Ford Foundation funds to spend he becomes a powerful source on the side of the Americans for Democratic Action and the CIO Political Action Committee and all that goes along with it. He stated that one of the most puzzling factors of the whole thing is the fact that these individuals were put into position by Paul G. Hoffman, who claims to be a great and devoted friend to President Eisenhower and whose counsel is listened to by the President on frequent occasions. Mr. Lewis stated that the question arises whether the Foundation is fostering actually a legitimate study or are they just propaganda fronts with high-sounding names, the findings of which are decided by Mr. Ferry and Company in advance. He added that the Bureau of Internal Revenue should look into this matter since it affects the tax-free status.

Mr. Lewis ended his broadcast by stating that certain activities of the Ford Foundation in foreign countries, India in particular, under the direction of Carl B. Spaeth of the Stanford University Law School, would make his hearers cringe when he reveals them on his broadcast tomorrow night.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

John

V.

76

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *V. per 12*DATE: Sept. 6, 1955 *to*FROM : L. B. Nichols *my*

SUBJECT:

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Irving Ferman of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) called today advising he had been up in New York over the weekend and that the ACLU people up there were getting very interested in the activities of the Fund for the Republic. Ferman expects that Pat Malin of the ACLU will open up a campaign against the Fund for the Republic in the near future. Ferman also indicated that Morris Ernst was getting somewhat exercised about the Fund's activities. For information purposes only.

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
JJM:arm
(4)

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16 SEP 13 1955

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63 SEP 19 1955 EX-100-801-3

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *W. R. G.*

FROM : L. B. Nichols *LBN*

SUBJECT: DR. CARL B. SPAETH
DEAN OF STANFORD LAW SCHOOL

DATE: August 29, 1955

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C

Fulton Lewis informed me today he is receiving numerous telephone calls from people furnishing him information on the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation, along with a very heavy mail. He was impressed with one call which he had Sunday night from a Charles Gitchell who graduated from Stanford Law School with an LL. B. Degree in 1954. He stated that there is a very high-class faculty at Stanford Law School which is completely out of sympathy with Spaeth but since Spaeth has gotten good salaries for the faculty, the faculty leaves him alone and he in turn leaves them alone. It was further pointed out that Spaeth talks about his friendship with Adlai Stevenson constantly and how he has served as his advisor. It was further reported that a \$6,000 grant has been allocated to Stanford University by the Ford Foundation to undertake an international study on the legal and constitutional developments in India.

LBN:gjm
(5)

cc: Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Jones

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EX-124

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(ONLY FOR PAPER SING LEWIS COLUMN.

(CAUTION: ADV. HIS COLUMN FOR RELEASE

A.M. AND P.M. PAPERS. MUST NOT BE PUBLISHED BEFORE THAT DATE,

WASHINGTON REPORT

BY FULTON LEWIS, JR.

(COPYRIGHT, 1955, KING FEATURES SYNDICATE, INC.)

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 7--A small bit of concrete evidence has come to light that the highly-controversial \$15,000,000 Fund for the Republic is becoming somewhat concerned about the possibility that it may lose its most-enviable status of being exempt from taxation.

The adjectives "small" and "somewhat" are used advisedly. The Fund's concern has not reached the point where its activities could in any sense be described as un-biased or objective educational philanthropy. They still are pitched primarily toward the sole objective of destroying anti-Communist activities and any sort of investigation of Red activities, including personnel security programs in or out of Government.

But it develops that the Fund has purchased 500 copies of a pamphlet reprint of an article in the Fordham Law Review by one of the nation's eminent and respected attorneys, former Commerce Department General Counsel C. Dickerman Williams.

The article is a thoroughly and lengthily documented exposition of the traditional legal concept of the Fifth Amendment -- that anyone who refuses to answer questions on grounds of possible self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment can properly and legally be assumed to have something to hide.

It takes specific issue with Harvard Law School Dean Erwin N. Griswold and others who argue that no such inference can properly be drawn from invocation of the Fifth Amendment, that it can properly be invoked merely because the witness dislikes, on moral grounds, the nature of the questions asked.

The interesting point which warrants use of the phrase "small bit" of concrete evidence, is that the Fund for the Republic bought the huge total of 500 copies of the Williams' article re-print.

Dean Griswold earlier had published a book expounding his thesis of free use of the Fifth Amendment; even before it was released generally, the Fund for the Republic purchased 350,000 copies, which it distributed to lawyers and judges throughout the country.

(MORE)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Boardman
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Parsons
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Sizoo
Mr. Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Mr. Holloman
Miss Gandy

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-25-89 BY 20088372/28

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100-371697-157

The Fund also has purchased and distributed on a broadside basis several other books and pamphlets purporting to uphold free use of the Fifth Amendment regardless of whether the witness actually has anything to fear. The present case of the 500 copies of the Williams pamphlet is the first time anyone has ever heard of the Fund in any way sponsoring anything tending to disprove their anti-anti-Communism.

There is another interesting point in connection with the Williams case. Officials of the Fordham Law Review have ascertained that requests to the Fund for the Williams pamphlet were so great that it has had at least 2,000 additional copies printed; but it neglected to obtain permission to do so from either Williams or the Fordham Law Review, and the point is causing some contention.

One possible reason comes to mind for the Fund's re-printing its own additional copies instead of purchasing them from the Review. Dean Griswold is one of the directors of the Fund -- one of its own; in the case of his book, all copies were purchased through regular channels, presumably with Dean Griswold receiving a royalty on each of the 35,000 copies. Williams is not one of the Fund's own, in fact heartily opposes its views; in his case, the Fund would be highly dis-inclined to let any royalties seep back to him.

Williams shows that historically, American courts have given far less credence and latitude to the Fifth Amendment than that which Dean Griswold and his followers seek to give it now.

He shows that in the early 20th century, "liberals" fought vehemently to pooch-pooch the Amendment and decry its use because it was being invoked by businessmen and financiers seeking to avoid testimony in anti-trust investigations. Now these same "liberals" or their ideological descendants are seeking to glorify the Amendment because its use is desired by their fellow-thinkers.

Well-written, explicit and virtually incontrovertible, the Williams article is to be highly commended and highly recommended. Reprints can be obtained from the Fordham Law Review, 302 Broadway, New York 7, N.Y. You might be interested.

#

(AM)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *ab*

DATE: September 13, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 7-25-89 BY 20815131 *ab*SUBJECT: ① THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The following is a status memorandum on the monograph being prepared in the Domestic Intelligence Division on the Fund for the Republic, Inc.

To date, 162 file reviews have been made or are in the process of completion. 40 pertinent summaries have been identified and located. 31 books have been secured and either analyzed or are in the process of being analyzed. 43 articles, pamphlets and newspaper clippings have been read. The current total of items covered in preparing material for this monograph is 276.

This analysis has been carried up to September 10, 1955. For the time being, it will be stopped at this point. As we know, the Fund for the Republic, Inc., is issuing or recommending material for the public almost weekly. Therefore, we must draw the line somewhere in order to complete the monograph and September 10 is an adequate date for this purpose.

The study of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., will be a continuous one because the Fund itself is continuing and only now are the written works of this group being published regularly. At a later date, the Bureau may wish to give consideration to authorizing the preparation of another monograph covering the activities of the Fund following September 10, 1955.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. This is for the information of the Director and yourself.

WCS:mjh *WCS*

(4)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section tickler

66 SEP 20 1955

RECORDED - 54

100-391617-158
10 SEP 15 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Nichols

DATE: September 13, 1955

FROM :

M. A. Jones

40246

SUBJECT:

W. W. Webb

ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY SP-8 BZJ/bf

Tolson	
Boardman	
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Harbo	
Mohr	
Parsons	
Rosen	
Tamm	
Sizoo	
Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

The Bureau has received a copy of a letter dated September 8, 1955, to Honorable George Smathers, United States Senator from Florida, signed by captioned individual. The letter makes reference to the Ford Foundation and the great immediate need for correction of the un-American method of administering the special grant of \$15,000,000 now in the hands of Robert Maynard Hutchens. He states that he has received information that Hutchens is making grants to many organizations and persons who are "Communistically inclined." He urges the Senator to secure a list of grants made by "Hutchens" so that they can be checked and requests that he be advised of the findings.

From information in Bufiles, it appears that W. W. Webb may be identical with a person of the same name who was considered a chronic correspondent of the Bureau in November, 1953, based on a voluminous correspondence and his practice of sending copies of his letters to prominent people to the FBI. According to [redacted] William Wallace Webb, considered on the basis of information available to be identical with subject of captioned memorandum, contacted the St. Petersburg, Florida, Resident Agency to report that he had attended a meeting of a local group known as Freedom Forum almost a month previously. He furnished literature concerning this group and volunteered to continue to attend meetings due to his belief that the organization or some of its members were subversive. Webb cooperated with the Miami Agents until December, 1954, when he advised them that he could no longer perform his service since he was "too old" and it was "too much of a strain." On December 27, 1954, Webb sent a letter to Senator William F. Knowland in which he advised him that he had been a confidential informant of the FBI but did not desire to continue his activities. In connection with this letter, you may recall you contacted Mr. Gleason of Senator Knowland's office on January 10, 1955.

RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that the copy of Webb's letter be disregarded in view of the above information and filed without acknowledgment.

cc - Mr. Belmont

RGZ:nl
(3)

SEP 20 1955

RECORDED - 15
INDEXED - 15

17 SEP 15 1955

UNRECORDED COPY FILED I

Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

P
Y

September 8, 1955

40247

Honorable. George Smathers
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Senator:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 253071/21 P/JS

I cannot think of anything more important to this society, especially the needy, than the immediate correction of the Unamerican method of administering the special grant of fifteen million from the "Ford Foundation." This special fund, is in the hands of one Robert Maynard Hutchens, of Chicago, Illinois.

If information received, is only correct in part, this character, is making grants to many organizations and persons, who are very much Communistic inclined. Some no doubt, are members or frontiers.

I urge that you secure a list of grants made by this administrator, and have them checked by the department having jurisdiction. Will you advise me of your findings, that I may inform others. in order

Sincerely yours,

WWW/CC/File #1.

W. W. Webb.

ENCLOSURE

100-41697-159

4-22 (6-15-55)

Federal Bureau of Investigation 40248
Records Section

, 1955

☐ Name Check Unit - Room 6523
☐ Attention _____
☐ Service Unit - Room 6524
☐ Forward to File Review
☒ Return to ☐ Ext. _____
Supervisor
Room 4131

b6
b7C

☒ All References
☐ Subversive References
☐ Main _____ References Only
☐ Restrict to Locality of Fla
☐ Breakdown ☐ Buildup ☐ Variations
☒ Exact Name Only
☒ Exact Spelling
☐ Check for Alphabetical Loyalty Form
files called for 9:00 AM

SUBJECT _____
Address W. W. Webb,

Localities _____
Birthdate & Place _____

R# _____ Date 9-10 Searcher Initial JRZ
FILE NUMBER SERIAL

☐ ☐ b7D
66-2252-388
100-343601-406
77-58042-19
100-603-314 p15;
62-7333 Ga.
62-100621 N.C.

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DATE 7-31-89 BY 8051 JRP



WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF

THE VIKING PRESS

625 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7-25-89 BY 8080313198

71 MAY 3 1957

105-391697-159
ENCLOSURE

Mr. Nichols

September 12, 1955

A. Jones

461

ALTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST
SEPTEMBER 12, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-25-79 BY 2058 BTJ/agp
2-79638 2-79639

Mr. Lewis devoted the first part of his broadcast this evening to a discussion of general news. He started his discussion about the Fund for the Republic by stating that National Commander Seaborn P. Collins called upon all members of The American Legion at state and national levels not to have any truck with the activities sponsored by the Fund for the Republic. Collins stated that he was issuing this alert to the Legion membership because it appears that the Fund for the Republic headed by Dr. Maynard Hutchins is threatening and may succeed in crippling the national security. He considered the propaganda of the Fund for the Republic to be as dangerous as it is untrue. Mr. Lewis added that Commander Collins stated that Hutchins had made sneering reference to the FBI which he had previously reported in his radio program.

Mr. Collins stated that the study of the project sponsored by the Fund for the Republic had convinced him that this organization is trying to propagandize Americans into believing:

1. Communism never has been and is not now a serious danger to this country.
2. The sinister forces under the pretext of fighting Communism are the real danger and threaten the civil liberties of all America.
3. Security measures are un-American and are being used to harass and persecute innocent people.
4. Intelligent and educated people are aware of these things but are opposed by the ignorant who are being misled by evil demagogues.

Many of the fellowship awards and other projects awarded by the fifteen-million-dollar Fund give the impression that the organization is battling what is termed witch hunt and vigilantism. On the contrary it seemed to ask that the effect of this constant loaded criticism of Congressional and Administration efforts to resist Communist infiltration is bound to be the encouragement of a form of intellectual vigilantism which would be a far more dangerous fault. Collins stated he hoped American Legion elements of the state and local levels will have no truck with

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Mohr
cc - Mr. Parsons
cc - Mr. Rosen
cc - Mr. Tamm
cc - Mr. Sizoo
cc - Mr. Winterrowd
cc - Tele. Room
cc - Holloman
cc - Gandy

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Bufile 100-391697

JPL:rcw

INDEXED - 40

100-391697-160

NOT RECORDED

44 SEP 15 1955

58 SEP 20 1955

EX-122

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 92-2-3187-199

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

September 12, 1955

the Fund for the Republic enterprise. If American Legion posts or departments or state organizations are offered financial aid by the Hutchins group to carry out the group's program, Collins stated he sincerely hoped they will decline, recognizing that such propaganda as that being disseminated by the Fund for the Republic can be sold to many Americans when millions of dollars are behind the sales effort.

Mr. Collins stated that Robert Maynard Hutchins' record was that he is peculiarly unsuited for administering a multimillion-dollar opinion-molding campaign. He blasted the Supreme Court, our highest tribunal, because it upheld the Smith Act, stating that the decision indicated that we are at least up against a crisis in this country. Hutchins is entitled to have his opinion about Communists in education and to hold that the Supreme Court, the lawmakers, and the FBI are evil when they are intolerant of Communism but by the same token the Legionnaires are entitled to know and to be alerted against an operation directed by Dr. Hutchins which in our opinion will not serve the cause of American unity. Collins stated that the high purposes set forth for the Fund for the Republic may have been those of the Ford Foundation when they established the Fund for the Republic but under the direction of Dr. Hutchins, the Fund is tending toward the elimination of restrictions upon those who apparently seek to destroy our freedom.

Dr. Hutchins immediately challenged Collins' statement saying that Collins had not bothered to find out the purposes and activities of the Fund before attacking it. Hutchins stated that the Fund is dedicated to the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Mr. Lewis stated that at another time the purposes of the Fund were set out in somewhat different terms. On February 26, 1953, the purposes allegedly were: (1) restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom; (2) due process and equal protection of laws; (3) the protection of the rights of minorities; and (4) censorship, boycotting and black-listing activities by private groups; and (5) principles of guilt by association and its application in the United States today.

In March, 1953, the U. S. Treasury Department wrote the Fund for the Republic regarding its tax-exempt status that it should not carry on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation.

Concerning the Judiciary Subcommittee of the Senate under Senator Jennings which is currently investigating civil rights and civil liberties in the United States, Mr. Lewis stated that the Fund for the Republic had just made a grant to the American University in Washington for assistance to the Hearings Committee in this study. He said that this morning the Committee announced it had added to its staff Miss Eleanor Montague to be a consultant in all this work on civil rights and security matters. The annual report of the Fund for the Republic carries

D.C.

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

September 12, 1955

a list under fellowships and grants among which is one to Eleanor Bontecou of Washington, D. C. , to complete a book about the Federal Loyalty-Security Program.

Mr. Lewis stated that he is concerned as to whether the Fund for the Republic with the decidedly slanted conceptions of its leaders and directors has infiltrated the investigating committees of the Congress of the United States. He stated that if this is so he doubts that the Fund should be entitled to its tax-free status and feels that T. Coleman Andrews, Commissioner of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, should be interested.